

# PEKING REVIEW

49

December 5, 1975

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報

**Chairman Mao Meets President  
Ford**

**Albanian Liberation Day Celebrated**

**Hsiyang — A Tachai-Type County**

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# PEKING REVIEW

— 北京周报 —

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# Chairman Mao Meets President Ford

**C**HAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the afternoon of December 2 met with President Gerald R. Ford of the United States of America, Mrs. Betty Ford and members of President Ford's party.

Members of President Ford's party who took part in the meeting were his daughter Susan Ford; Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State; George Bush, Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China; Brent T. Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Joseph J. Sisco, Under Secretary of State; Philip Habib, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs; Winston Lord, Director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff; and Richard Solomon, Senior Staff Member on the National Security Council.

After shaking hands with each of the American guests, Chairman Mao had earnest and significant discussions with President Ford on wide-ranging issues in a friendly atmosphere. Taking part in the discussions on the American side were Henry A. Kissinger, George Bush, Brent T. Scowcroft and Winston Lord.

Taking part in the meeting and discussions on the Chinese side were Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premiers; Chiao Kuan-hua, Foreign Minister; Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States; Wang Hai-jung, Vice-Foreign Minister; and Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih, Deputy Departmental Directors of the Foreign Ministry.



# U.S. President Ford Visits China

**A**T the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States of America, arrived in Peking on December 1 for a visit to China.

Official members accompanying President Ford on his visit were his wife Betty Ford and daughter Susan Ford; Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State; George Bush, Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China, and his wife; James Lynn, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and his wife; Robert T. Hartmann, Counsellor to the President; Richard B. Cheney, Assistant to the President; Brent T. Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Joseph J. Sisco, Under Secretary of State; Ron Nessen, Press Secretary to the President; Philip Habib, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and Winston Lord, Director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff.

Greeting them at the airport were Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Wu Teh and Li Su-wen, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of

the National People's Congress; Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Chiang, Minister of Foreign Trade; Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States of America; Madame Lin Chiao-mei and leading members of government departments, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the other departments concerned as well as over 200 people from various circles who had visited the United States.

On behalf of the Chinese Government and Premier Chou, Vice-Premier Teng extended a welcome to the American guests.

Peking Airport flew the national flags of China and the United States. A welcoming ceremony was held at the airport after the U.S. President's special plane touched down. The band played the national anthems of the two countries. Accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng, President Ford reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

President and Mrs. Ford were greeted by Mesdames Kang Ke-ching

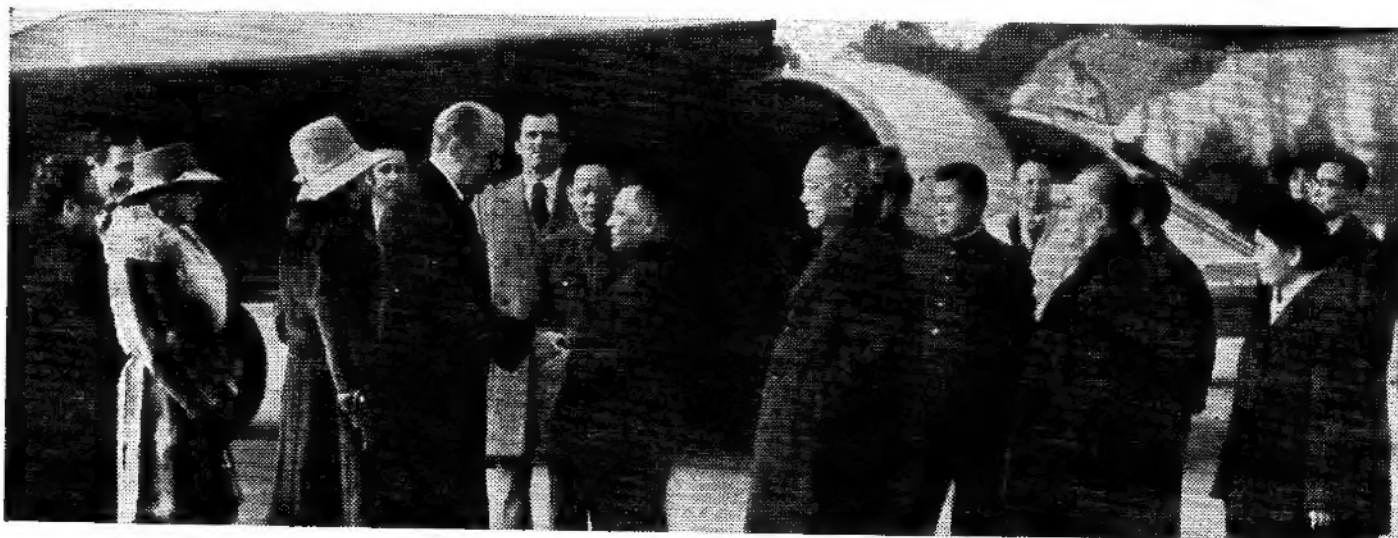
and Teng Ying-chao on their arrival at the Guest House.

In the evening, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, met President and Mrs. Ford as well as all the American guests, the press corps, technical personnel and aircraft crew who accompanied the President on his visit.

Present on the occasion were Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Chiang Ching, Li Hsien-nien, Wu Teh and Li Su-wen; Minister of Foreign Affairs Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang, Minister of Culture Yu Hui-yung and Chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States Huang Chen.

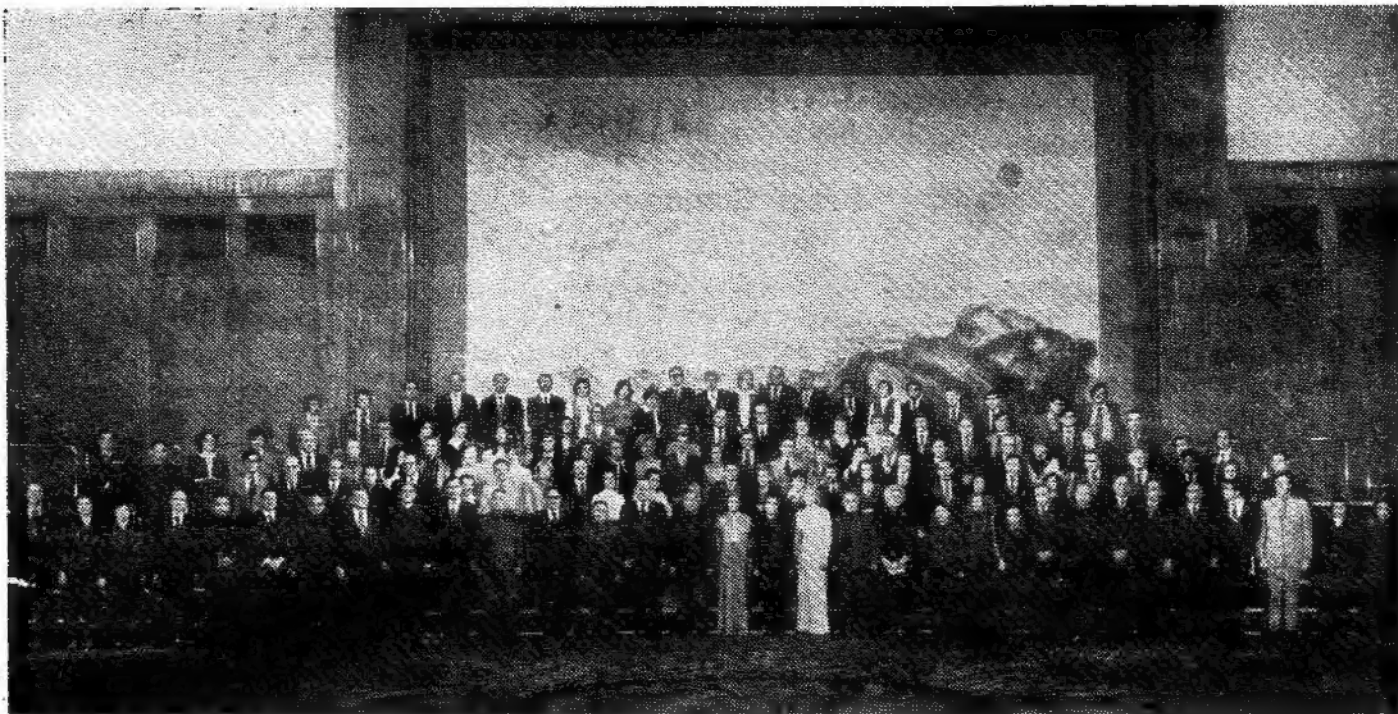
Later in the evening of December 1, Premier Chou entrusted Vice-Premier Teng to host a banquet in honour of President and Mrs. Ford.

Among the American guests at the banquet were Susan Ford, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, George Bush, Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China, and Mrs. Bush, other official members and members of President Ford's party, the press corps, the technical personnel and the aircraft crew with President Ford on his visit,



On his arrival in Peking, President Ford is greeted at the airport by Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, and Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Wu Teh and Li Su-wen.





Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress meets with President and Mrs. Ford.

and officials of the U.S. Liaison Office in China.

Present were Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Wu Teh and Li Su-wen, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Chiang, Minister of Foreign Trade; Yu Hui-yung, Minister of Culture; Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of China in the United States; and Madame Lin Chia-mei.

The banquet took place in the Great Hall of the People. The national flags of the United States and China hung side by side in the banquet hall.

Vice-Premier Teng and President Ford delivered toasts at the banquet (for full texts of their toasts see pp. 8 and 9). After their toasts, the band played the national anthems of the United States and China. It played Chinese and American music during the banquet.

Among those attending were:

Members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chang Wen-yu, Wu Hsin-yu, Lin Chiao-chih, Chao Chung-yao and Tung Ti-chou;

Leading members of government departments and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Wang

Hai-jung, Chu Mu-chih, Hsieh Ching-yi, Yen Yu-min, Hsiao Peng, Liu Cheng-ching, Chiang Hui-lien, Lu Chin-tung, Liu Hua-ching, Liu Tsun-hsin, Wang Yeh-chiu, Lu Ying, Teng Kang, Mu Ching, Wu Chung, Liu Chuan-hsin, Chang Han-chih and Chu Lin; and

Representatives of workers and people's commune members Chen



Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping holds talks with President Ford.

# China Successfully Launches Another Man-Made Earth Satellite

## Press Communique

**C**HINA successfully launched another man-made earth satellite on November 26, 1975, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, on the basis of the victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and in the excellent situation marked by consistent new victories in socialist revolution and construction.

The satellite makes one complete revolution round the earth in 91 minutes along a trajectory the perigee of which is 173 kilometres and the apogee 483 kilometres; the angle of its orbit to the equator plane is 63 degrees.

The successful launching of the satellite is a fresh achievement made by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, in taking class struggle as the key link, firmly implementing the series of important instructions of

Chairman Mao's including those on studying the theory and combating and preventing revisionism, on promoting stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward, and grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council and the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee extend warm congratulations to the workers, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, scientific workers, engineers and technicians, revolutionary cadres and militiamen who have been engaged in the research, manufacture and launching of the satellite and the other people concerned.

(Hsinhua News Agency, November 26)

[The man-made earth satellite China launched on November 26 has returned to earth as scheduled after orbiting the earth normally, according to a Hsinhua News Agency report on December 2.]

Fu-han, Chen Ching-tai, Tu Pao-jung, Chen Yung-hsiang, Kuo Li-yun and Kuo Fu-chin; representatives of minority nationalities Yang Tsung, Halifu Tawuti, Chen Chia-tsai, Chen Yu-fang and Tien Chung-shan; as well as representatives of various circles.

Also present were Tu Yu-ming, Huang Wei, Chang Hai-shang, Chao Yi-hsueh and Yang Nan-tsun.

Vice-Premier Teng and President Ford held talks on December 2.

Taking part in the talks on the U.S. side were Dr. Kissinger, George Bush, Brent T. Scowcroft, Philip Habib, Winston Lord, and Richard Solomon.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were Chiao Kuan-hua, Huang Chen, Wang Hai-jung, Lin Ping, Director, and Tang Wen-sheng, Deputy Director, of the Department of American and Oceanian Affairs of the Foreign Ministry; and Chien Ta-yung, Ting Yuan-hung and Chao Chi-hua.

## Albanian Liberation Day Celebrated

Albanian Ambassador to China Behar Shtylla and his wife gave a reception in Peking on November 29 warmly celebrating the 31st anniversary of the liberation of Albania.

Attending the reception were Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Hsu Hsiang-chien, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chiao Kuan-hua, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of its International Liaison Department.

Jusuf Adjitorop, Leader of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.I. Central Committee, attended.

Also at the reception were the visiting Albanian Education Delegation headed by Vice-Minister of Education and Culture Musa Kraja and other Albanian comrades in Peking.

Ambassador Behar Shtylla and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua spoke at the reception which was permeated with a cordial atmosphere of friendship.

The Ambassador reviewed the tremendous successes achieved by the Albanian people over the past 31 years under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

"Life in our country as a whole is characterized by unity, optimism, revolutionary vigilance and creativeness and enthusiasm for fulfilling the

militant tasks set by the Sixth Party Congress," he said.

"Adhering to the policy of proletarian principle," the Ambassador stressed, "socialist Albania has united with those countries and peoples in the world striving for national and social liberation, waged a tit-for-tat and uncompromising struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and reaction and safeguarded the cause of freedom, socialism and Marxism-Leninism, thus winning the esteem and friendship of those countries and peoples throughout the world cherishing freedom and progress."

He pointed out that the profound friendship and revolutionary co-operation between the two fraternal Parties, countries and peoples of Albania and China have been forged and daily developed and enhanced in the common cause of socialist revolution and Marxism-Leninism and in the flames of the struggle against their common enemies — imperialism and modern revisionism — and have taken deep root in the hearts of the people of the two countries. No force in the world can disrupt this militant friendship that has stood the test of violent storms, the Ambassador stated.

In his speech, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua had warm praise for the heroic Albanian people who, under the correct leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by their great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, have, despite extremely difficult conditions, persisted in the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried on constant class struggle, smashed the subversive and disruptive activities of domestic and foreign enemies and adopted a series of revolutionization measures, continuously advancing socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Albanian Party of Labour resolutely combats imperialism and social-imperialism and firmly supports the revolutionary struggle of all peoples. It has thus made important contributions to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and won exten-

sive sympathy and respect, Chiao Kuan-hua declared.

He said: "The Chinese and Albanian Parties and our two countries and peoples are intimate comrades-in-arms and brothers. We share common ideals and common fighting goals. No matter in what circumstances, we shall unite closely and, together with the revolutionary people of the whole world, march courageously in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism."

There also was an exhibition of Albanian paintings jointly sponsored by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-Albania Friendship Association to celebrate the occasion. Comrade Yao Wen-yuan attended the opening ceremony and visited the exhibition.

### Surinam Independence Greeted

Premier Chou En-lai on November 25 sent a message to Prime Minister Henck Arron greeting the proclamation of the independence of Surinam and informing him of the Chinese Government's decision to recognize the Republic of Surinam.

The message read: "On the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of Surinam, I wish to extend, on behalf of the Government and people of the People's Republic of China, our warm congratulations to Your Excellency and, through you, to the Government and people of Surinam. I would like to take this opportunity to inform Your Excellency that the Chinese Government has decided to recognize the Republic of Surinam. I am confident that the friendship between our two peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries will develop daily.

"May the people of Surinam achieve continuous new successes in the cause of safeguarding their national independence and building their own country."

Wang Chan-yuan, Representative of the Government of the People's Republic of China and Ambassador to Guyana, attended the Surinam

independence celebrations in Paramaribo.

### Japanese Industrial and Technical Exhibition In Peking

The Japanese Industrial and Technical Exhibition was held in Peking from November 18 to December 2.

Attending the opening ceremony were Chinese Foreign Trade Minister Li Chiang, Japanese International Trade and Industry Minister Toshio Komoto and the Japanese Government Delegation led by him, as well as more than 500 people in the Chinese capital.

Minister Toshio Komoto spoke at the opening ceremony. He expressed the hope that the exhibition would help deepen the Chinese people's understanding of Japan and enhance the friendly relations between Japan and China.

In his speech, Wang Yao-ting, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, extended warm congratulations on the inauguration of the exhibition in Peking. He said: "It is the general demand and common feeling of the Chinese and Japanese people that they live in friendship from generation to generation. It is our hope that a treaty of peace and friendship between China and Japan will be concluded at an early date on the basis of the joint statement of the two countries so as to further develop the good-neighbourliness and friendship and economic and trade relations between the two countries and continue to enhance the friendship between the two peoples."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien visited the exhibition on November 25.

The large-scale exhibition is the first held in China by the Japanese Government since normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Japan. Total floorspace is 18,000 square metres. On display are machine tools, instruments, metals, tools, power equipment, building and transport machines, chemicals and medicines. More than 200,000 people visited the exhibition.



## Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Toast

Mr. President and Mrs. Ford,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Comrades and Friends,

We are very glad today that President and Mrs. Ford, travelling thousands of miles across the ocean, have arrived in China for an official visit. As the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, Mr. Ford visited China before in June 1972 with Mrs. Ford, so they are already known to the Chinese people. At this banquet which I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host, I wish to express welcome on behalf of the Chinese Government to President and Mrs. Ford and the other American guests accompanying them on the visit.

The Chinese and American peoples are both great peoples. Our two peoples have always been friendly to each other. I would like to take this opportunity to convey the cordial greetings of the Chinese people to the great American people.

More than three years ago, President Nixon visited China, and the Chinese and American sides issued the famous Shanghai communique. This is a unique international document. It explicitly sets forth the fundamental differences between the policies of China and the United States, which are determined by their different social systems, and at the same time points out that in today's world our two countries have many points in common. An outstanding common point is that neither should seek hegemony and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish hegemony. The communique provides the basis for the development of Sino-U.S. relations and indicates its direction and goal. Its issuance accords not only with the common desire of our two peoples but also with the interests of the people of the world. And it has made a deep impact internationally.

Since the Shanghai communique, there have been on the whole an increase in the contacts and friendship between our two peoples and an improvement in the relations between our two countries. Since he took office, President Ford has stated more than once that he will adhere to the principles of the Shanghai communique and work to promote Sino-U.S. relations, a statement which we welcome. To realize the normalization of relations between our two countries conforms to the common desire of the Chinese and American

peoples. We believe that, so long as the principles of the Shanghai communique are earnestly observed, this desire will eventually be realized through the joint efforts of our two sides.

At present, a more important question confronts the Chinese and American peoples — that of the international situation. Our basic view is: There is great disorder under heaven and the situation is excellent. The basic contradictions in the world are sharpening daily. The factors for both revolution and war are clearly increasing. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this torrential tide of our time is mounting. In particular, the third world has emerged and grown in strength, and has become a force that is playing an important role in the international arena, a force that must not be neglected. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony is intensifying and, strategically, Europe is the focus of this contention. Such continued contention is bound to lead to a new world war. This is independent of man's will. Today it is the country which most zealously preaches peace that is the most dangerous source of war. Rhetoric about "détente" cannot cover up the stark reality of the growing danger of war.

The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains. The wind is blowing harder and harder, and nothing can prevent the storm. In the face of this international situation, the crucial point is what line and policy to pursue. We consider that it is in the interest of the people of the world to point out the source and danger of the war, dispel illusions of peace, fully arouse the people, make all preparations, unite with all the forces that can be united with and wage a tit-for-tat struggle. Hegemonism is not to be afraid of. It is weak by nature. It bullies the soft and fears the tough. Its expansion in all parts of the world bears the seed of defeat. The outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon. In this regard, the consistent policy of the Chinese Government and people is: Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony. We base ourselves on independence, self-reliance and millet plus rifles.

The people are the makers of history. Mankind always advances in storm and stress. The road is tortuous, the future is bright. We are full of optimism and confidence in the future of mankind.



President Ford's visit to China is a major event in the present international relations. It is beneficial for leaders of the two countries to have a direct exchange of views on issues of mutual interest. We wish President Ford a successful visit.

In conclusion, I propose a toast

## President Ford's Toast

Mr. Vice-Premier, Mr. Foreign Minister, and all Chinese friends here tonight:

On behalf of Mrs. Ford, our daughter Susan, the members of our party, and the people of the United States of America, let me express appreciation for your friendly reception. It is symbolized by this gracious banquet you have accorded us tonight.

Although this is my second visit to the People's Republic of China, it is the first time I have been to your country as President of the United States. In 1972 I had the opportunity to meet a number of your leaders, including Premier Chou En-lai. I learned something of their views, and saw the impressive work of the people of China in developing their country. I recall your hospitality with pleasure.

It is now more than four years since our two countries started discussing how to build a more constructive relationship. Reality and common necessities brought us together in a bold and farsighted move.

In the Shanghai communique our two governments recognized that "there are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies." But, more importantly, we also agreed that normalization of relations would be in the mutual interest of our peoples, and would contribute to the development of a more secure international order. We therefore established certain principles to guide the growth of our relations and our approach to the international scene.

The moves that were taken in 1971 and 1972 by the leaders of China and the United States were of historic significance. I take this occasion to reaffirm my commitment to the objectives and the principles that emerged from those first steps and specifically to the normalization of our relations.

Developments since 1972 verify the wisdom of the Shanghai communique. We still differ on certain issues, but we have progressed toward a more normal relationship. Our many authoritative discussions have enabled our two nations to explore areas of mutual interest and to understand each other's views on the issues on which we disagree. The two liaison offices which we established in our respective capitals facili-

to the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples,

to the health of President and Mrs. Ford,

to the health of the other American guests, and

to the health of all comrades and friends present here!

tate our contact and understanding. The development of cultural and scientific exchanges, and trade, strengthens the ties between the Chinese and American peoples.

In the international field, we have a mutual interest in seeing that the world is not dominated by military force or pressure—what in our joint statements we have called hegemony.

In pursuing our objectives, each of us will, of course, determine our policies and methods according to our differing positions in the world and our perceptions of our respective national interests.

In the past four years, there have been many changes in the international situation. The world confronts us all with dangers, but it also offers opportunities. The United States will strive both to reduce the dangers and to explore new opportunities for peace without illusions. The current situation requires strength, vigilance, and firmness. But we will also continue our efforts to achieve a more peaceful world even as we remain determined to resist any actions that threaten the independence and well-being of others.

I look forward to our frank and beneficial discussions. We will explore areas of agreement, and seek to foster understanding where our perspectives differ. In that spirit, we remain firmly committed to the process of building a normal relationship between our two countries on the basis of the Shanghai communique, and to enlarging the areas of co-operation on international issues of mutual concern.

So as I begin my visit, I would like to propose a toast:

- to the health of Chairman Mao;
- to the health of Premier Chou En-lai;
- to the health of Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping;
- to the health of other officials and friends here tonight;
- to the success of our discussions here this week;
- and to further development of friendship and understanding between the peoples of China and the United States!

# Advancing in Giant Strides Along The Road to Victory

THE heroic Albanian people today greet the advent of their magnificent red-letter day, the 31st anniversary of the liberation of their motherland and the victory of the people's revolution. As their comrades-in-arms in proletarian revolution, the Chinese people, with the deepest feelings of friendship, wish, on this joyous occasion, to extend their warmest greetings and highest respects to the fraternal Albanian people.

Albania is a heroic nation and its people are an industrious and valiant people. More than 30 years ago when the Italian and German fascist iron heel tramped on the sacred Albanian territory, the Albanian people led by the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha courageously rose up and launched an extremely arduous armed struggle. By relying on their own efforts, they finally defeated the fascist aggressors and won the great victory of the liberation of their motherland and the people's revolution, writing an illustrious chapter in the history of Albania. Meanwhile, they made important contributions to the victory of the people of Europe and elsewhere in the world in their anti-fascist war.

Following the teachings of the Party of Labour and Comrade Hoxha, the Albanian people, holding pick in one hand and rifle in the other, relying on their own efforts and working hard, have been advancing in giant strides on the broad road of socialist revolution and socialist construction and have won one great victory after another since the liberation of the whole country. Industrial and agricultural production has grown rapidly and the people's material and cultural life has been improved year after year. Great and wonderful changes have taken place in the land of mountain eagles in a very short period of time. The former poverty-stricken and backward Albania has become a flourishing socialist state with modern industry and collectivized agriculture.

The 31 years since liberation are years replete with revolutionary struggles and years in which victories have been scored one after another. Class enemies in Albania and abroad and the imperialists and the social-imperialists, not reconciled to their defeat, have constantly carried out subversion and sabotage against revolutionary Albania and tried by every means to throttle the People's Republic of Albania. But their attempts have all

been crushed by the Albanian people. In recent years, the Albanian Party of Labour has again taken a series of measures which have been steadily revolutionizing the Party and state life in all aspects and further enhancing the people's socialist consciousness. Now, the Albanian people are striving valiantly to fulfil the fighting tasks set forth by the Sixth Congress of the Party and the plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee. The dictatorship of the proletariat has become more consolidated. A vigorous and flourishing atmosphere prevails everywhere in socialist Albania.

Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and its great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people uphold Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people and firmly combat imperialism and social-imperialism as well as modern revisionism. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people have won the admiration and acclaim of the people of all countries for their revolutionary fighting spirit.

China and Albania are fraternal socialist countries. Profound revolutionary friendship has been established between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples in the struggle for the victory of the socialist cause and against our common enemies. This friendship is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is unbreakable. The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao says: "The revolutionary friendship between the peoples of China and Albania has stood the test of fierce international class struggles. The power generated by this friendship is inexhaustible and truly invincible." The Albanian people's great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha says: "Neither the long distance of thousands of miles, nor high mountains and oceans can block us. We shall always be together like blood brothers, in sunny days or in difficult times." The Chinese people will always be united with the fraternal Albanian people, always fight side by side with them and win victory together with them. May the revolutionary friendship between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples flow perpetually like the Yangtse and Drin Rivers and remain for ever like the Korabi Mountains and the Himalayas.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, November 29)

*Peking Review*, No. 49

# Hsiyang—A Tachai-Type County

— Second in a series of reports on the nationwide movement to build Tachai-type counties

by Our Correspondent Chin Chi-chu

**H**SIYANG in Shansi Province has built itself into a Tachai-type county. The county, where the red banner on China's agricultural front, the Tachai Production Brigade, is located, tripled its grain output in the five years ending 1971. Its per-capita output this year averages 0.75 ton with each inhabitant providing 0.25 ton marketable grain to the state. Hsiyang's economy has developed in an all-round way. And with the profound changes in people's mental outlook there, a contingent of socialist new peasants is maturing and the socialist position in the countryside has become more consolidated with each passing day.

From what has taken place in Hsiyang one can well imagine how fruitful the current nationwide revolutionary mass movement to build Tachai-type counties will be.

## Rearranging Mountains and Rivers

A common sight in Hsiyang that catches visitors' eyes these days is the display of slogans such as: "Learn

from Tachai! Rearrange the rivers and mountains!" "The more you do it, the better you like it and the greater your courage and ability to do it well." And no mistake! People there truly are doing things in a big way. Construction sites are everywhere, the noises of tractor engines are deafening, not to mention the detonations as hilltops are blown up. The whole county is astir from dawn to dusk: digging mountains, quarrying stones, moving earth.

On Hsiyang's sprawling hills terraced fields have been built. Water used to be scarce there, now small reservoirs dot the landscape. Arable land was scanty, but the people there have thrown up sturdy stone dykes along the dry river beds to keep off the floodwaters in the rainy season and transformed vast tracts of pebbly land into good farmland. Even some barren gullies have been turned into fertile cultivated land. One way of doing this is building culverts along the gullies to drain off the summer torrents and then spreading soil on the top of the culverts for growing crops.

Since terraced fields are small in size and therefore not suited to mechanized farming, hills are removed and gullies filled in to build "man-made plains."

Cement works, chemical fertilizer plants, small collieries and other small-scale industries have mushroomed. In both the county seat and the surrounding villages, numerous brick and stone buildings are under construction. A factory mass-producing mini-type caterpillar tractors specially designed for mountain areas will soon be commissioned. . . .

In a word, the whole county is seething with activity and the people's work enthusiasm knows no bounds. Everywhere there is a scene of prosperity in socialist construction.

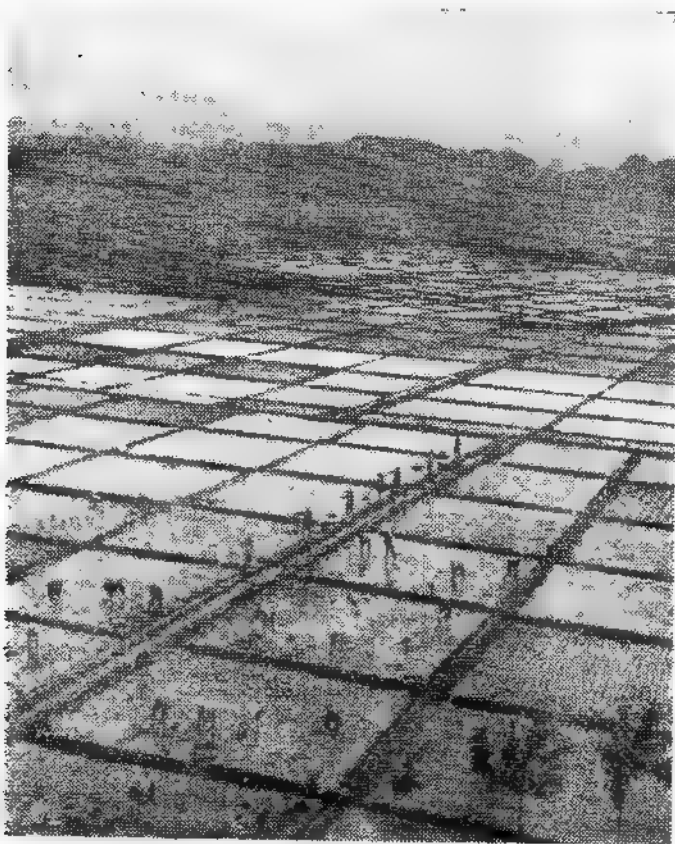


Using explosives to level a hill and build more farmland in the Wuchiaping Production Brigade, Hsiyang County.



In the Taihang Mountains, Hsiyang in the past only had thin, poor soil. There was drought almost every year, and other natural disasters such as wind and hailstorms were common. After liberation production went up and total grain output had reached 50,000 tons in 1958. But because the leading member of the former county Party committee followed Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, output plummeted to 40,000 tons in the years between 1960 and 1966.

Soon after the individual peasant economy was transformed into the socialist collective economy, some people on the county Party committee took the view that "all have joined the commune and they belong to one and the same family"; in other words, they considered that the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in the countryside had died out. With such revisionist ideas in their minds, they naturally could not see that measures pushed by Liu Shao-chi — such as *san zi yi bao* (extension of plots for personal needs, extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own) and the "four freedoms" (freedom to practise usury, hire labour, buy and sell land and engage in private enterprises) — were designed to restore capitalism. So instead of opposing these measures, they carried out them energetically.



A vast stretch of barren pebbly river bed transformed into paddyfields by the Hsiyang people.

Firmly implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Party branch committee of the Tachai Production Brigade took a clear-cut stand in continually criticizing revisionism and capitalism. The results in following two different lines were entirely different. In Tachai the collective economy prospered and developed, but in many other places in Hsiyang farm production waned and the collective economy declined, and organized efforts to transform the mountains and rivers were out of the question.

## Great Changes

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in 1966, Hsiyang's 210,000 inhabitants, under the leadership of the newly formed county Party committee, have been learning from Tachai in real earnest. The leadership at all levels, the various departments and most of its 20 people's communes and 411 production brigades all now work in the Tachai way. They vehemently criticize revisionism and capitalism. Making socialist construction their common endeavour and, through hard struggle and relying on their own efforts, they have rapidly changed Hsiyang's appearance. The following figures well illustrate this:

**Farmland capital construction.** More than 100 hilltops have been levelled to build 104 small plains in the last five years. Eighty per cent of the county's 26,000-odd hectares of land under cultivation have been transformed into land which preserves water, fertilizer and soil. At the same time, 159 small reservoirs have been constructed in addition to the completion of over 4,190 small water conservancy projects.

**Farm mechanization.** Over 90 per cent of the production brigades in the county have electricity. The number of lorries for agricultural purposes, tractors, bulldozers, power-driven irrigation and draining machinery and other machines for processing farm produce or used on the threshing ground has registered a 15-fold increase compared with days before the Great Cultural Revolution.

**Grain output.** Total grain output in 1966 was over 40,000 tons. It went up to 80,000 in 1969, and then to 118,000 in 1971. Last year it reached an all-time high in spite of the severe droughts between 1972 and 1974. This year its grain output registers a further increase.

**Marketable grain for the state.** Hsiyang sold and delivered 3,500 tons of grain to the state in 1966. The annual average in the four years between 1967 and 1970 was over 15,000. Between 1971 and 1974, it topped 26,000 tons.

**Forestry, animal husbandry and sideline occupations.** In 1974, income from these was 2.7 times that of 1966,

accounting for 32 per cent of the county's total income from farm production, forestry, animal husbandry and sideline occupations.

**Collective economy.** The collective economy of the production brigades has grown in strength. Whereas in the past the commune-owned economy was practically non-existent, today every commune has its own farms and small industrial plants. In some communes, these farms and industries have brought in earnings that make up 30 to 50 per cent of each commune's total income.

**People's livelihood.** Twenty-four of the 462 villages in the county have been completely rebuilt and half partly rebuilt. In 1974, average per-capita income directly distributed to commune members throughout the county doubled that of 1966.



Delegates to the recent national conference on learning from Tachai visiting the Shihping culverts.

People say: "Hsiyang's people; land and grain output are no longer the same as before, but the most fundamental change of all is that in people's mental outlook." The cadres and masses in Hsiyang always bear in mind the Party's basic line and are keenly aware that in the historical period of socialism there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. They now know that any deviation from this basic line not only will adversely affect production but will cause the socialist society to degenerate. So there is a steady rise in their ideological and political consciousness. This basic change has contributed to Hsiyang's success today.

## Two Examples

The Shihping Production Brigade in Hsiyang County is a big village with 1,970 inhabitants living in 485 households. It boasts a new housing area with rows of spick and span stone mountain caves on top of which is another storey of rooms, serving as living quarters for the brigade members. There is tap water in front of the cave rooms replacing the wells of the old days when bitter-tasting water seeped in from the underground coal seams. There is a store well stocked with merchandise for daily use, and a big school building is going up.

Better living conditions have been made possible only as a result of growth in production by the collective. Before the Great Cultural Revolution the Party branch here, under the influence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, strayed from the Party's basic line. The upshot was a strong capitalist tendency towards self-

aggrandizement and accumulation of wealth for one's family. There was an exodus of young and able-bodied persons who quit farming and swarmed into the coal city of Yangchuan near by to do odd jobs for cash payment. People thought little of the collective and the land of the production brigade was not well cared for. What with water losses and soil erosion, the land became poorer and poorer. Grain output in 1966 was 30 per cent less than in 1959. Not in a position to feed its own people, Shihping had to count on the state for a part of its food supply. A few people lived fairly well and certain individuals even went in for profiteering and made a lot of money. But life for most families in the village showed little improvement.

When the flames of the Great Cultural Revolution was set ablaze, people became more politically conscious. They began looking back at the road Shihping had travelled: Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they had carried out the land reform, embarked on the road of agricultural co-operation and established a people's commune and there was growing prosperity for all. Why then had there been this stagnation in production or even retrogression in recent years? They all reached the same conclusion: It was because of the revisionist line which was a "line of going backward and a line leading to death." The only thing to do was to learn seriously from Tachai and adhere to the Party's basic line because this was their only "lifeline."

As the old saying goes: "If people work with one heart, even a big mountain can be removed." Shihping had only a labour force of 630 but, in addition to farming, many construction projects had been completed in a few years' time. One example suffices to bring

(Continued on p. 22.)

## **Four Operations Across the Chihshui River**

by Chun Ta

**B**ETWEEN August and October 1934 saw the beginning of the Long March by the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Chairman Mao Tsetung, together with various organs of the Party Central Committee and the First Front Army under his command, reached Wuchichen in northern Shensi in October the following year and successfully joined forces with the 15th Army Group. In October 1936, three branches of the Red Army—the First, Second and Fourth Front Armies—joined up in Huining, Kansu Province, thus bringing the world-shaking 25,000-li Long March to a victorious conclusion. The four crossings of the Chihshui River carried out under our great leader Chairman Mao's personal command at the crucial moment in the Long March marked the turning point when the Red Army in its strategic movement emerged from a position of passivity to taking the initiative into its own hands. Thenceforth, the Red Army, which had hitherto met with failure, started advancing towards victory. These operations also served as a brilliant example of Chairman Mao's strategic thinking in action.

### (1)

Late in the Second Revolutionary Civil War, as a result of the erroneous leadership under Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line, the Central Red Army was defeated in its fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression." The main force of the Red Army was compelled in October 1934 to pull out of the Central revolutionary base area with Juichin in Kiangsi Province as its centre, and make a large-scale strategic shift of position—the Long March.

At the outset, the "Left" opportunist leadership had practised flightism in the retreat, bringing along pots and pans in the manner of moving house to a distant place. The valour and hard fighting on the part of its commanders and fighters had made possible the Red Army breaking through the four enemy lines of blockade, but at very great cost. The Central Red Army had been depleted numerically, its strength reduced from 80,000 men at the beginning of the Long March to 30,000 after the crossing of the Hsiangchiang River in northern Kwangsi. When it reached the Hunan-Kweichow border area, the "Left" opportunist leadership insisted on sticking to the original plan of heading for the Hunan-Hupeh-Szechuan-Kweichow border area to join hands with the Second and Sixth Army Groups operating there. However, Chiang Kai-shek, to prevent

our armed forces from doing so, by then already had brought in 400,000 troops blocking our advance in the front and intercepting us in the rear. If our Red Army did not give up this plan and clashed head-on with the enemy forces superior in number, it would probably have been in danger of total annihilation.

This was a critical point. Chairman Mao strongly advocated calling off the plan of joining forces with the said army groups and advancing instead towards Kweichow where the enemy was fewer in number and weaker in strength. This would give the Red Army the initiative, enable it to fight and win several battles and thus gain a respite for some rest and consolidation. Chairman Mao's correct proposal won the support of most comrades. So the troops changed their route and advanced in the direction of Kweichow where they captured Liping, made a forced crossing of the Wuchiang River and took Tsunyi, where the Party Central Committee called an enlarged meeting of its Political Bureau. A meeting of tremendous historic significance, it rectified the mistakes of the "Left" opportunist line in military affairs, reaffirmed the correctness of Chairman Mao's military line and established his leading position in both the Party and the Red Army, thereby bringing the Party and the Red Army through at a most critical moment. The biggest problem then for the Red Army following the Tsunyi Meeting was how to shake off the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by several hundred thousand enemy troops. Without solving that problem, it was impossible to preserve the seeds of revolution and there would have been no victories and developments such as those that took place subsequently. Up to then, the Red Army had long been in a vulnerable position exposed to enemy attacks. With a view to changing this situation caused by the erroneous leadership of the "Left" opportunist line, Chairman Mao personally directed the four military operations across the Chihshui River.

Marching north, the Central Red Army set out from the Tsunyi area and crossed the Chihshui River for the first time at the end of January 1935. Its intention was to cross the Yangtze River somewhere between Luhsien (now the city of Luchow) and Yipin (now the city of Yipin) in southern Szechuan to join hands with the Fourth Front Army in the Szechuan-Shensi base area so that both could march northward to fight the Japanese invaders. This move greatly alarmed the enemy. The Szechuan warlord Liu Hsiang, who did

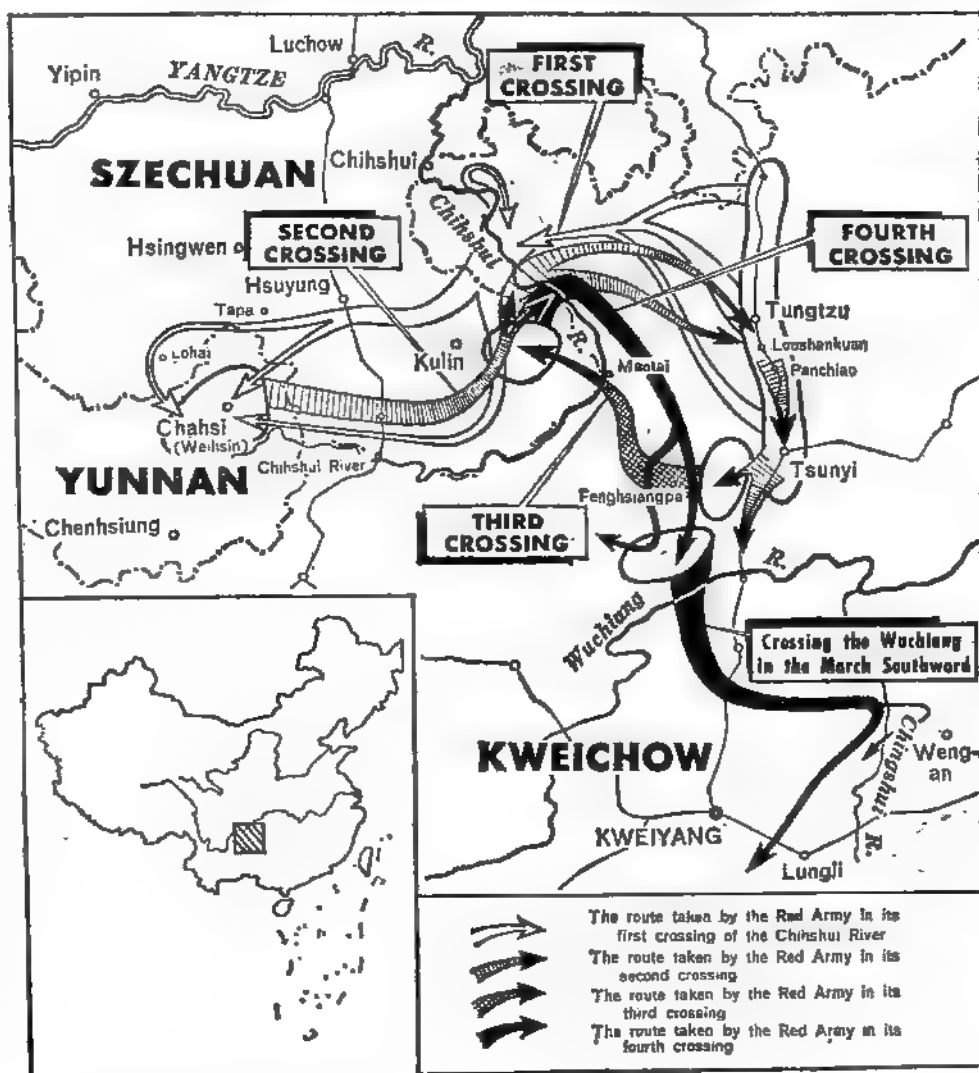


not want to see the Red Army entering the province, hastily dispatched troops to garrison all the Szechuan-Kweichow border area and, using 36 regiments, had the approaches to the Yangtze tightly sealed in an effort to check the Red Army's northbound advance. In this way, a big encirclement of the Red Army was being formed with the Hunan warlord troops out to encircle and intercept the Red Army from the east, the Kweichow warlord troops coming from Tsunyi in pursuit, three brigades belonging to the Yunnan warlord closing in on the Red Army from Pichieh and two columns of Chiang Kai-shek's central army making a forced march to the north. Seeing that forcing the Yangtze was no longer possible because of the massing of enemy troops, Chairman Mao quickly decided to drop for the time being the plan of forcing the Yangtze to the north and ordered concentration of the Red Army in Chahsi (Weihsin) in northeastern Yunnan via the Hsuyung-Kulin area in southern Szechuan to wait for an opportune moment to defeat the enemy. After this concentration was made, Chair-

man Mao, finding the enemy in Kweichow weak in strength, determinedly directed the troops to move eastward, and they crossed the Chihshui River for the second time on February 18 and 19. Having chosen the right moment to strike, our armed forces went into all-out action and wiped out eight regiments of the Kweichow warlord in Loushankuan and Tsunyi area and, thanks to these victories, succeeded in occupying the city of Tsunyi for the second time. Shortly afterwards, most of the two KMT central army divisions which had come on a rescue mission were wiped out in the vicinity of Laoya Mountain southwest of the city of Tsunyi. The first major victory since the Long March had begun, a total of 20 enemy regiments were annihilated in this battle. Greatly upset by this defeat, Chiang Kai-shek flew from Chungking to Kweiyang to rearrange the deployment and personally took charge of the various enemy forces pressing on the Red Army. To bewilder the enemy troops and make them proceed according to our wishes, Chairman Mao ordered the Red Army to cross the Chihshui River on March 16 for the third time and to penetrate the Kulin area in

southern Szechuan. Thinking our forces would want to recross the Yangtze to the north and join forces with the Fourth Front Army, Chiang Kai-shek once again assembled a heavy concentration of troops in that part of Szechuan in an attempt to encircle us and block our way. But on March 22, Chairman Mao directed the Red Army to turn eastward suddenly, cross the Chihshui River for the fourth time, force the Wu-chiang River to the south and close in on Kweiyang. By the time Chiang Kai-shek hastily ordered the Yunnan warlord troops to his rescue, the main force of the Red Army had thrust into Yunnan over the Hunan-Kweichow Highway, adroitly crossed the Chinsha River, and shook loose from the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by several hundred thousand enemy troops. Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary scheme of finishing off the Red Army in Szechuan, Yunnan and Kweichow having completely come to grief, our military operations paved the way for the successful completion of the Long March.

### SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE RED ARMY'S FORCED CROSSING OF THE CHIHSHUI RIVER ON FOUR OCCASIONS



Engels said: "The emancipation of the proletariat will likewise manifest itself in military affairs and create its own unique, new method of operations." (*The Possibility and Prospects for the Holy Alliance to Wage a War Against a Revolutionary France in 1852*.) The Red Army's campaign of crossing the Chihshui River four times is a wonder in the annals of warfare and a brilliant example of Chairman Mao's art of military command.

*In this campaign of crossing the Chihshui River four times, Chairman Mao, correctly handling the dialectical relationship between the main direction and secondary directions, avoided setbacks and persisted in the strategic orientation of going north to resist Japanese aggression.*

In the early stage of the Long March, the "Left" opportunist leaders made the troops start "moving house" and take to their heels. At first they hoped to connect up with the Second and Sixth Army Groups and when this could not be realized because of blocking and intercepting by massive enemy forces, they were nonplussed and at a loss over what to do. After the Tsunyi Meeting, Chairman Mao who saw things from a higher plane and, in the light of the nation's political situation as a whole, decided to cross the Yangtze River to the north and move to the front to fight the Japanese invaders. This main direction was entirely correct. Going north was the only way to group the Red Army main forces and make them a powerful anti-Japanese force so as to lead and push ahead with the nationwide movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation. Once this strategic direction was decided on, the Red Army's Long March itself was no longer an act passive in nature but a positive thing; it was to become a strategic march to the front to resist Japanese aggression and not a retreat or a flight, as was the case at the beginning of the Long March. But the route for going north to fight the Japanese invaders — the main direction — could not be as direct as one would wish; before realizing this, the steps taken were not just steps forward but included steps backward as well. Chairman Mao said: "Though the main direction does not change in a given period of time within its ambit the secondary directions may shift at any moment; when we find ourselves checked in one direction, we must turn to another." (*Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*.) Between the strategic move of the first crossing of the Chihshui River and forcing the Yangtze to the north and the fulfilment of this strategic end by skilfully crossing the Chihshui River took more than three months, during which the secondary directions kept changing from time to time — all beyond enemy expectations. Thus, when the enemy thought we were going to cross the Yangtze, we turned back instead; when he expected us to go west, we actually moved eastward as our forced crossing of the Chihshui River alone took place on four occasions. As facts had borne out, the shifts in these secondary directions were entirely necessary and justified. Every movement by our

troops caused the enemy to rearrange his position and as soon as he had completed the deployment, our forces were already fighting somewhere else. This flexible and mobile way of fighting — offence for the purpose of assuming the defensive; retreating for the purpose of advancing; keeping to flanking movements for the purpose of keeping to the front; making a detour for the purpose of taking the straight course — ensured the ultimate success of the Red Army in its northbound march to resist Japanese aggression, which was the main direction. During the Long March, Chairman Mao correctly handled the relationship between the main direction and the secondary directions: changing the secondary directions for the sake of keeping to the main direction, and, to this end, seeing to it that necessary changes in the secondary directions were being constantly carried out. After many twists and turns, the Red Army finally reached northern Shensi, which was made its foothold after the Long March ended and starting point in resisting Japanese aggression and for national salvation so as to meet the new high tide in the Chinese revolution.

*In this campaign of crossing the Chihshui River four times, Chairman Mao, correctly handling the dialectical relationship between the defensive and the offensive, preserved our own forces and destroyed the enemy.*

The Long March by the Red Army after defeat in the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" was a continuation of its defensive action and the enemy's hot pursuit was a continuation of his offensive action. In the early days of the Long March, the "Left" opportunist leadership continued pushing the line of passive defence and committed flightism in the retreat. It assumed the defensive without taking any offensive and only tried to parry blows without fighting back. So absurd was its argument that it maintained the Red Army had to wait until after reaching the terminal point of retreat and then "start fighting the enemy only after putting aside the luggage." This explains why, before the Tsunyi Meeting, the Red Army had no way of shaking off the pursuing enemy no matter how hard it fought its way to break through his encirclement. Chairman Mao pointed out: "A strategic retreat is a planned strategic step taken by an inferior force for the purpose of conserving its strength and biding its time to defeat the enemy, when it finds itself confronted with a superior force whose offensive it is unable to smash quickly." (*ibid.*) To effect a strategic retreat does not mean to passively avoid fighting; its object "is to induce the enemy to make mistakes or to detect his mistakes." (*ibid.*) Herein lies the opportunity for an inferior force to launch an attack in the course of defence and the possibility for it to win. "One must realize that an enemy commander, however wise, cannot avoid making some mistakes over a relatively long period of time, and hence it is always possible for us to exploit the openings he leaves us." (*ibid.*)

After the Tsunyi Meeting, the Red Army, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic principle of

active defence, carried out offensive campaigns and battles within the strategic defensive, campaigns and battles of quick decision within the strategically protracted war, and also engaged in campaigns and battles on exterior lines within strategic interior lines. This had brought on a new look in the military situation. After the first crossing of the Chihshui River, the enemy forces rushed to converge on southern Szechuan, closing in from different directions and launching joint attacks on us, their attempt being to pin down the Red Army somewhere along the river bank in southern Szechuan and wipe us out there and then. It never occurred to the enemy that Chairman Mao would lead the Red Army in crossing the Chihshui River for the second time and again storm Tsunyi. The result was that the deployment of enemy troops became futile and our forces had switched from a defensive to an offensive position and changed from interior-line operations to exterior-line operations. We were able to concentrate our forces and put eight regiments of the Kweichow warlord out of action and then annihilated most of the two KMT central army divisions which had rushed to their aid. It was thanks to this superb strategy and the wisdom in commanding that the Red Army, encircled and pursued, obstructed and intercepted by an enemy force of several hundred thousand, instead of being exterminated by the enemy, was in a position to wipe out the enemy effectively, ride out countless difficulties and successfully complete the Long March.

*In this campaign of crossing the Chihshui River four times, Chairman Mao correctly handled the dialectical relationship between initiative and passivity, kept the enemy on the move and seized the initiative in the strategic retreat.*

Prior to the Tsunyi Meeting, the Red Army had completely lost the initiative because the "Left" opportunist leadership confined our armed forces to interior-line operations and subjected them to a passive position exposed to enemy attack. They asserted that such a position was simply unalterable because in its strategic retreat the weak and small Red Army was hemmed in by several hundred thousand enemy troops in the places it was operating. This metaphysical viewpoint was entirely wrong. In fact, reciprocal transformation of initiative and passivity on the battlefield is possible under certain conditions. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The inferior side can wrest the initiative and victory from the superior side by securing certain conditions through active subjective endeavour in accordance with the actual circumstances." (On Protracted War.)

Under Chairman Mao's wise command after the Tsunyi Meeting, the Red Army went over to conducting large-scale mobile warfare as it moved north and south again and again and covered hundreds of kilometres east and west in a manner that can be described as follows: You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we cannot win. By exploiting the enemy's various contradictions and weak points, the Red Army was able to take the initiative into its own hands and force the enemy into

a position of passivity. In the campaign of crossing the Chihshui River four times, the Red Army under Chairman Mao's command carried out all kinds of feinting actions in order to induce the enemy to move around, actions aimed at upsetting enemy deployments and concealing what we ourselves were really doing. Now going forward in big strides, now a wide-range detour, now a feint to the east but attacking in the west, and, drifting from place to place, the Red Army, quick as lightning, would appear from nowhere and launch surprise attacks to storm and capture strategic points. It daringly stabbed through enemy lines and operated between pursuing enemy columns and then swiftly turned back to leave them far behind.

After the Tsunyi Meeting, having been consolidated and pruned of all burdensome impedimenta, the Red Army regrouped with a simpler administrative organ, increased its combat strength, and ensured that it could move with agility. By contrast, the several hundred thousand enemy troops were so swollen and therefore clumsy in action that they lost out to the Red Army in time and space, so clumsy that they had to suffer it to move freely from place to place. The Red Army's feinting attack on Kweiyang after the fourth crossing of the Chihshui River was a very important move in Chairman Mao's effort to get it out of the position of passivity so that it could take the initiative into its own hands. In planning these operations, Chairman Mao had remarked that we would win the battle if the Yunnan troops could be lured out. And when we had ingeniously succeeded in getting the Yunnan warlord troops out and also getting the troops of the Szechuan, Kweichow and Hunan warlords as well as two columns of the KMT central army into eastern and northern Kweichow and western Hunan, the Red Army's main force immediately got across the Hunan-Kweichow Highway through a gap somewhere between Kweiyang and Lungli and then sped westward to thrust into Yunnan. We were then marching in the opposite direction from the Yunnan troops who were going northeast to reinforce Kweiyang while we marched southwest to Kunming. On April 28, the main force of the Red Army seized Sungming and Hsuntien in eastern Yunnan, thus threatening Kunming. Finding that he had been fooled into sending reinforcements to Kweiyang, the enemy immediately turned back and marched all the way to the aid of Yunnan. But the Red Army sent only a small detachment to make a gesture of attacking at Yangtsun about 30 kilometres from Kunming while its main force headed north for the Chinsha River. It began to dawn upon the enemy that the Red Army never really wanted to storm Kweiyang or Kunming. A massive enemy troop deployment was sent to march several hundred kilometres to the Chinsha River. But the Red Army already was there, and, using seven small boats, had finished crossing the river at the Chiaocheh Ferry (Chiaochehtu) in nine days and nine nights and reached the Huili region in south-western Szechuan. It was only after the whole Red Army had completed the crossing that large enemy reinforcements arrived. Thus the Red Army extricated



itself from the several hundred thousand enemy troops hot on its heels or trying to intercept and encircle it, fulfilled its strategic objective of forcing the Yangtze to the north, and won a great victory of decisive significance in the Long March.

### (3)

In this campaign of crossing the Chihshui River four times, Chairman Mao, who commanded the Central Red Army in fighting bitterly against several hundred thousand enemy troops, kept waging fierce struggles against sabotage and interference by Lin Piao, an adherent of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line. Lin Piao who took a vague attitude at the Tsunyi Meeting, actually sided with Wang Ming's line. After the meeting, he continued to stubbornly adhere to the bourgeois military line, challenging and interfering in Chairman Mao's strategic deployment and wise commandership.

After the first crossing of the Chihshui River, Lin Piao opposed the idea of revising the plan according to the changing situation and refused to obey the order from the Military Commission. The various army groups were told at that time by the Military Commission that the original plan had been intentionally revised for the purpose of quickly disengaging the enemy facing the Red Army. Specific instructions were given to the First Army Group which, as the vanguard, was to mass its troops at Chahsi. Then commanding officer of the First Army Group, Lin Piao openly defied the order, saying he "saw no reason why [he] should go south and concentrate [his] force in Chahsi" and demanding instead that the Military Commission should move northward and concentrate its force near the First Army Group. He even had the arrogance to challenge the Military Commission by asking: "Precisely what is your real intention?" When the Military Commission repeated its instructions and told Lin Piao to leave Tapa immediately for Chahsi, he refused for the second time and presumptuously demanded that "the Military Commission carefully study our telegram and make certain where we are before giving us orders." So the Military Commission had to instruct him for the third time and clearly explain to him the reason for concentrating forces in Chahsi. Still, Lin Piao turned a deaf ear to the Military Commission's instructions, continued his advance westward and brought the troops under his command to Chienwuying in Hsingwen. In view of the grave situation arising from the presence of the enemy's Szechuan troops close to us at Tientangpa, Maopa and Tapa, the Military Commission twice instructed the various army groups to the effect that, in the light of the prevailing situation, it was no longer possible to carry out the original plan of forcing the Yangtze and it was necessary to quickly disengage from the pursuing enemy from Szechuan. It also told Lin Piao to take the troops under his command to Chahsi, force open the big blockhouse there and patrol the routes leading to Changning and Chenhsiung. But Lin Piao still refused to obey the order and actually moved the troops under his command farther away from the main force to Lohai. In short, after the first crossing

of the Chihshui River, the Military Commission had to issue altogether eight orders in six days to urge Lin Piao to move the First Army Group to the Chahsi area. Lin Piao ignored the orders and was compelled to carry them out only after a four-day delay that nearly disrupted the plan of operations.

Having Rightist conservative leanings, Lin Piao after the second crossing of the Chihshui River hesitated and shilly-shallied, not daring to go into action when the situation called for it. At that time, Chairman Mao, having learnt that the enemy strength was weak along the line between Tsunyi and Tungtzu, gave the word that the Red Army must quickly capture Loushankuan and then seize the city of Tsunyi. But Lin Piao who did not have the strength of mind to encounter difficulties ahead complained that it was impossible for his troops to make a detour to encircle the enemy south of Loushankuan and launching a frontal assault on the enemy a greater force was needed. Besides, he argued, it would not be an easy job as his troops had to attack from below. He also added that even if his troops did succeed in reaching the point south of Loushankuan, they would be deadly tired then and therefore could not go into battle and wind it up the same day. He proposed waiting a day or two for the arrival of the Fifth and Ninth Army Groups and the Cadres' Regiment to launch a joint attack. The plain truth, however, was that Lin Piao did not have the guts to fight the enemy there. Later, after the Red Army had defeated the troops of the Kweichow warlord, the Military Commission instructed the First and Third Army Groups not to give the routed enemy any respite but to pursue him down to Tsunyi and get ready to strike the two KMT central army divisions on their way to reinforce Tsunyi. Once again, Lin Piao was reluctant to carry out the order and stayed put. Not until after being severely criticized by the Military Commission did he start leading the troops in the march towards Tsunyi. The Red Army, having captured Tsunyi in the small hours, moved further south in the morning and encountered enemy reinforcements which had also reached the southern outskirts of the city of Tsunyi. A fierce battle ensued around Laoya Mountain. Because the Red Army had the advantage of getting there first and its commanders and fighters fought dauntlessly, most of the two enemy divisions were thus wiped out. If, however, the Red Army had not captured Tsunyi first — Lin Piao had been reluctant to do so — the enemy would certainly have got there before it and occupied the positions to his advantage. In that circumstance, the Red Army would have had to fight under unfavourable conditions and probably even lose the battle.

Under Chairman Mao's command after the great victory at Tsunyi, the Red Army crossed the Chihshui River for the third and fourth time, marched into Yunnan and crossed the Chinsha River. During the victorious march, Lin Piao colluded with Peng Teh-huai in opposing Chairman Mao. In Huili, the Party Central Committee called a meeting at which Lin Piao was severely criticized and their anti-Party conspiracy to usurp the Party leadership was smashed.



## Workers' Forum (IV)

# Why Do We Study the Struggle Between the Confucian and Legalist Schools?

**I**N the course of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius last year, we came across the question of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools in Chinese history. In addition to preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, Lin Piao attacked the Legalist school, especially Chin Shih Huang (the First Emperor of the Chin Dynasty) who had put the Legalist line into practice. (See "Chin Shih Huang — The First Ruler to Unify China" in *Peking Review*, No. 50, 1974.) The Soviet revisionists also revere the Confucian school and oppose the Legalist school, as did the reactionary ruling classes in the past. The Party called on us to study the struggle between the two schools as well as the history of the class struggle as a whole, so as to learn from the historical experience and make the past serve the present. Thus we promptly went into action — reading reference materials, making annotations and criticisms, writing comments and editing popular readings. Before long, the study of history spread among the workers in our factory.

### Confucian and Legalist Schools

What is meant by the Confucian school and the Legalist school? What is the historical background of their emergence and what is the essence of the struggle between them? After studying, we have come to a better understanding of the following basic facts.

The two were antagonistic schools of thought formed in the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods (770-221 B.C.) when the feudal system was replacing the slave system in China. The Confucian (*ju*) school founded by Confucius advocated the rule of "rites," and its political programme was to "restrain oneself and return to the rites." The rule of "rites" required that people should strictly observe the hierarchy system and corresponding rites and ceremonies of the slave system of the Western Chou Dynasty (1066-770 B.C.) when China's slave society was in the ascendant. That is to say, the Confucianists wanted to pull the already advanced society back to the time of Western Chou and make the slave system everlasting. Therefore, from the very beginning, this school which represented the interests of the declining classes was a reactionary school of thought advocating restoration and retrogression.

The Legalist (*fa*) school stood for reform and opposed retrogression and advocated the replacement of

the rule of "rites" by the rule of "law." The rule of "law" meant using promulgated laws and decrees reflecting the interests of the landlord class to oppose the slave-owning aristocrats' hereditary prerogatives, their hierarchy system and their setting up of ducal states. The school also called for use of violence to smash the slave-owning class' political forces and establish and consolidate the feudal state with centralized power. Hence the name "Legalist school."

The contention between the two schools was at first a class struggle between the declining slave-owning class and the newly emerging landlord class, a struggle between the two lines — whether to safeguard the slave system or to develop the feudal system. It was a life-and-death fight. Several exponents of the Legalist school were murdered by the slave-owning class because they made reforms. Its predecessor Shaocheng Mou (?-498 B.C.) was beheaded upon Confucius' order; Wu Chi (?-381 B.C.) was killed by arrows and Shang Yang (c. 390-338 B.C.) was put to death by tying his limbs to two chariots driven in different directions. Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.), an exponent of the Legalist school, pointed out in a penetrating way: Ice and hot coals can't coexist, winter and summer don't coincide, and so there is no room for compromise between the Confucian and the Legalist schools.

Both schools belonged to the exploiting classes, but they differed from each other in principle. The rivalry between the two continued during feudal society when the rule of the landlord class was basically consolidated, but the class content of the struggle differed. The Confucian school represented the conservative and retrogressive forces in the landlord class, while the Legalist school represented those forces in the landlord class standing for reforms and progress.

Chairman Mao has said: "Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past." (*The Role of the*



Forge worker Mei Yiliu, one of the writers of this series of articles.

This is the fourth of a series of articles written by six workers of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant reviewing their factory's movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

*Chinese Communist Party in the National War.*) Since the political ideas of the Confucian school catered to the needs of - all reactionary and declining classes, chieftains of the opportunist lines in our Party without exception have revered the Confucian school and opposed the Legalist school. Abroad, the literati in the service of the Soviet revisionists have written voluminous articles worshipping the former and opposing the latter. These facts tell us that the struggle between the two schools in China's history has its influence even today. We must therefore have a clear understanding of it.

### Rich Historical Experience

Chairman Mao teaches us "to study our historical heritage and use the Marxist method to sum it up critically" (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*) so as to "make the past serve the present." We have gained much useful experience from studying the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

**The protractedness of the counter-restorationist struggle.** An important point we have learnt is the protracted nature of the fight between restoration and counter-restoration. Except for the replacement of the dictatorship of the big landlords and bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the contemporary era, the replacement of the dictatorship of the slave-owning class by that of the feudal landlord class 2,000 years ago was the only dictatorship of one class replaced by that of another class in its full sense in China's history. Therefore, studying the experience of that struggle has a bearing on understanding the class struggle today and on how to guide it.

Judging from available historical materials, the transition from China's slave society to feudal society covered some 370 years from 594 B.C., when the State of Lu (a ducal state) began to recognize the right to own land and started collecting a land tax in proportion to the amount of land owned, to 221 B.C. when Chin Shih Huang unified China and established the first feudal dynasty. It was not until the middle of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.) that the feudal system was finally consolidated. During those centuries, the struggle continued unabated between advance and retrogression, restoration and counter-restoration. Chin Shih Huang's "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" and Chao Kao's usurpation of power and restoration of the old order after Chin Shih Huang's death were two major political events in this period.

First about "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" soon after the unification of China by Chin Shih Huang. The slave-owning aristocrats were of course unwilling to accept their defeat lying down. Their political representatives, the Confucian scholars, cursed the Chin Dynasty by invoking the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Their aim was to subvert the political power of the landlord class and restore the slave system. Giving them head-on blows, Chin Shih Huang ordered

the burning of a large number of Confucian books and suppressed 460 reactionary Confucian scholars, thus smashing the restoration scheme of the slave-owning aristocrats.

The nature of the exploiting classes, however, decided that the landlord class' revolution could not be thoroughgoing. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "It was neither necessary nor possible for them to do a thorough job in suppressing counter-revolutionaries." Chin Shih Huang was no exception. When he was somewhat intoxicated with his reign of peace and prosperity, Chao Kao, a representative of the slave-owners' restorationist forces, wormed his way into a confidential position in the Chin court. He staged a coup d'etat immediately after Chin Shih Huang's death and unloosed a bloody massacre of the Legalists. The Chin Dynasty was soon toppled as a result of his changing Chin Shih Huang's Legalist line. Nevertheless, there was no way out for retrogression. Chao Kao's attempt to restore the slave system soon fell through due to the opposition of the people of the whole country.

This is only one example. Going through the history books, we see that sharp and tortuous struggles filled those years. The landlord class wanted to establish and consolidate a social system under its dictatorship, while the slave-owning class wanted to defend and restore the social system under its own dictatorship. Lenin said: "Dictatorship is a big, harsh and bloody word, one which expresses a relentless life-and-death struggle between two classes, two worlds, two historical epochs." (*A Publicist's Note.*) The struggle in this historical period indeed was filled with blood and fire. The working people's opposition to the ruthless slave system was the decisive factor that propelled the advance of society so that the feudal system could be established and consolidated.

The struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools in this period shows: The revolution in which one exploiting system substituted another went through several hundred years of fierce struggle, so in the socialist revolution we are carrying out, which aims at eliminating all exploiting systems and establishing a classless communist society, the struggle will be even more arduous. The fight between the exploiting classes working for restoration and the proletariat countering restoration is bound to be protracted.

The history of the international communist movement has vividly borne this out. In 1871, the Paris Commune, the first political power under the dictatorship of the proletariat in human history, was cruelly suppressed by the bourgeoisie in only a few months. Political power in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, had been usurped by the new bourgeoisie in less than four decades after the proletariat won victory, and the country has degenerated into social-imperialism. The lesson that "the satellites have gone up into the sky while the red flag has fallen to the ground" in the Soviet Union precisely reflects the arduousness and protractedness of the proletarian rev-



olution. That capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union is a bad thing. However, we firmly believe that no matter how tortuous the path may be, the future of humanity is bright. Perpetrating perverse acts against the trend of history, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique will surely come to an ignominious end.

In the 26 years since the founding of New China, the struggle has been going on endlessly between the bourgeoisie attempting a restoration and the proletariat combating restoration. Manifestations of this struggle are numerous: from the move-

ments against the three evils and five evils\*—the beating back of the bourgeoisie's attack in the economic field in 1952 soon after the founding of New China—to the repulse of the bourgeois Rightists' attack in 1957 (the Rightists responded to the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rebellion and demanded that the Chinese Communist Party "step down"), and from the opposition to Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line to the smashing of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat of Lin Biao and company. Though the exploiting classes were overthrown, their men are still around and are not resigned to defeat, dreaming all the time of recovering their lost "paradise." New bourgeois elements will still be engendered in socialist society. Lin Biao's son Lin Li-kuo and his "small fleet" (code name for their counter-revolutionary secret agents organization) were out-and-out new bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries engendered in socialist society.

**Importance of ideology.** Through studying the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools, we have come to understand more about the importance of grasping the struggle in the ideological sphere.

Chairman Mao has said: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." The history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools fully testifies to the correctness of this thesis. In the State of Chin (one of the ducal states) more than 2,000 years ago, for instance, the confrontation centring around

\*The three evils were corruption, waste and bureaucracy. The five evils in private industry and commerce were bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation.



A worker lecturing on history of the struggle between Confucian and Legalist schools.

Woodcut by amateur worker-artists in Shanghai

reform and anti-reform was first of all manifested in the heated debate in the ideological sphere between Shang Yang, a Legalist school exponent, and Confucian scholars Kan Lung and Tu Chih. The latter two opposed reform, and their argument was: "It is not a mistake to run affairs by following the ancient way, there is no question about adhering to the rites [of the slave system of Western Chou]." Shang Yang's refutation was: "In administering a state, it won't do to follow the old rules without making any changes; it is beneficial to the state not to blindly follow the ancient ways." It was in this ideological battle that Shang Yang defeated the representatives of the slave-owning class and convinced the hesitant and wavering Duke Hsiao, ruler of the State of Chin, to carry out reforms, thus paving the way for the newly rising landlord class to make social reforms.

The correctness of this thesis has also been proved by class struggles today. The reactionary classes attach great importance to ideology. In China, Lin Biao preached the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, his purpose being to keep a tight hold on ideology. The same is true of the Soviet revisionists. Khrushchov once lauded Stalin as his "own father." But soon after Stalin's death, he made a "secret report" frantically assailing Stalin and casting aspersions on the Soviet Union, a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the meantime, reactionary bourgeois literati like Ehrenburg, Sholokhov and their like turned out novels and reports like *The Thaw* and defamed the dictatorship of the proletariat as a severe winter, crying out that it was time of "thaw" for the bourgeoisie. After coming to power, Khrushchov and Brezhnev went to great lengths to create counter-revolutionary public opinion. They set in motion all available media to spread such fallacies as the state of the whole people and the party of the

whole people, the "new economic system," material incentives and the principle of profitability. Amid such uproar, they attacked and elbowed aside the genuine proletarian revolutionary fighters and sabotaged the socialist economic base, so that step by step the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerated into a dictatorship of bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists of a new type, a fascist dictatorship.

While studying the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools in the past and integrating it with the current class struggle, the workers said: "We shouldn't bury our heads in steel-making. We must pay attention to the fight in the ideological field. Only in this way can the socialist economic base be consolidated and developed, and our Party will not go revisionist and our country will not change its political colour."

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(Continued from p. 13.)

home the point. In the winter and spring slack farming seasons of 1970 and 1971, the people of Shihping succeeded in using thousands upon thousands of stone slabs to build a culvert 4,300 metres long and wide enough for a lorry to pass through. Thus, when torrents roared and rushed down from the mountains in the rainy season, the floodwaters were carried away by the culverts without damaging the farmland. The top of the culvert was covered with soil and in this way 27 hectares of farmland were built. While giving priority to farm production, they started building houses and most villagers now have moved into their new residences.

This year, Shihping's per-hectare yield is more than six times that of 1966. Besides providing a large amount of marketable grain to the state, the Shihping people have surpluses which they keep as reserves. The pay for every workday is now three times that in 1966. The brigade boasts seven tractors today.

Another example is the mountainous Nannao Production Brigade where natural conditions are worse. It once did not even have a motor road to the outside world and villagers had to carry coal for fuel uphill on shoulder-poles. Water was scarce and irrigation was simply out of the question. The 65 households were strung out along a 1.5-kilometre-long mountain ridge, living in primitive earth caves. Though life and production after liberation were getting better, progress was not fast enough. The name Nannao in the local dialect means "the southern earth hill," but people preferred to call it by a homonym meaning "a hard nut to crack."

The struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools also has provided us with beneficial experience in other aspects. From the rivalry between different political forces over the centuries, we have learnt that the Legalists always were for the unification of our country, while the Confucianists advocated splitting the nation; the former stood for resistance against invaders while the latter preached capitulation; etc. From this we feel that it is imperative for every politically conscious worker to study history while studying theory and the current situation. As Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement." (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War.*)

Like Shihping, Nannao started learning from Tachai seriously with the advent of the Great Cultural Revolution. Facts proved that once the correct line was followed and the people were of one mind and all for building socialism in a big way, Nannao was not such a "hard nut to crack." In the short span of a few years, its labour force of 110 men and women worked wonders. Accessible now to heavy trucks along a newly built highway that winds up the mountains, Nannao has built new living quarters for all its commune members. All around are tier upon tier of terraced fields. In addition, there are the "man-made plains" built of earth from hills blasted by explosives. Drinking and irrigation water has been brought up to the village from the foot of the mountain and stone-lined ponds for storing rain water stand on top of the hills.

Like their colleagues elsewhere in Hsiyang, members on the Nannao Party branch committee take the lead in doing the toughest jobs. Former secretary of the Party branch committee Li Suo-shou who suffered from three fractured ribs while working at building "man-made plains" returned on crutches before he had completely recovered to see what he could do to help. With the exception of a deputy secretary who is a woman, every one of the other six members on the Party branch committee has 340 to 350 workdays to their credit every year.

The change in Nannao has been colossal, but its people are not resting on their laurels. Inspired by the National Conference of Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, they are mapping out a new plan for further progress. Their watchword: Be forward-looking, we've just started.

So it is in all Hsiyang. A new upsurge of learning from Tachai is sweeping the whole county.

## "Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (10)

The workers were never separated by a Chinese Wall from the old society. And they have preserved a good deal of the traditional mentality of capitalist society. The workers are building a new society without themselves having become new people, cleansed of the filth of the old world; they are still standing up to their knees in that filth. We can only dream of cleansing ourselves of that filth. It would be the height of utopianism to think that this can be done all at once. It would be a utopianism which in practice would only postpone socialism to kingdom come.

No, that is not the way we are setting out to build socialism. We are doing so while still standing on the soil of capitalist society, combating all those weaknesses and shortcomings with which the working people are also affected and which tend to drag the proletariat down.

V.I. Lenin: *Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress* (January 1919)

**Question:** Since workers are building a socialist new society, why did Lenin say that "they are still standing up to their knees in that filth [of the old world]"?

**Answer:** The working class is the most revolutionary of all classes. In building socialism, it is necessary first of all to rely on the workers and bring into play their initiative and creativeness. Otherwise, nothing can be accomplished. This is what we should make clear before everything else in studying this quotation. But the workers are not living in a vacuum. Socialist society is stamped with the birth marks of the old society economically, morally and intellectually, and these are bound to influence the workers' thinking. Many workers who were formerly small producers living in the old society for a long time inevitably carry with them the small producers' prejudices and the old traditional frame of mind. This is what Lenin meant in saying that the workers are standing up to their knees in the filth of the old society. In the practical struggle to build socialism, the workers are continuously clearing away the filth of the old world, removing the soil of capitalism and transforming the objective world, and at the same time remoulding themselves and furthering their own ideological revolutionization. Just as Lenin pointed out,

the working class must also combat all the weaknesses and shortcomings which tend to drag it down.

**Question:** What is the practical significance to China in studying this quotation from Lenin?

**Answer:** In spite of the fact that the actual social conditions in China today are different from those at the time Lenin made this remark, its basic spirit is still applicable to China today. Chairman Mao pointed out in his important instruction on the question of the theory of proletarian dictatorship: "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life." Studying this quotation from Lenin helps us deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's instruction, increase our understanding of the importance of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere and enhance our consciousness to remould our world outlook. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remoulding—the exploiters and also the working people. Who says the working class does not need it? Of course, the remoulding of the exploiters is qualitatively different from that of the working people, and the two must not be confused." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) While studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat today, the worker comrades are consciously resisting corrosion by bourgeois ideas and styles of work, further raising their ideological level and striving to promote stability and unity and quicken the pace of socialist revolution and construction.

There is a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into "parliamentarians," or else into bureaucrats. We must combat this by drawing all the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration. In many places the departments of the Soviets are gradually becoming merged with the Commissariats. Our aim is to draw the whole of the poor into the practical work of administration, and every step that is taken in this direction—the more varied they are, the better—should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, tested by wider experience and embodied in law. Our aim is to ensure that every toiler, after having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labour, shall perform state duties without pay: the transition to this is particularly difficult, but this transition

alone can guarantee the final consolidation of Socialism.

V.I. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

**Question:** Why was it that a petty-bourgeois tendency could have arisen among members of the Soviets to transform them into "parliamentarians" or bureaucrats?

**Answer:** The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies established under Lenin's leadership after the Russian October Revolution were a state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat which was fundamentally different from bourgeois state power and the bourgeois parliament. The members of the Soviets were "servants of society" elected by the people through universal suffrage, responsible to them and supervised by them, and therefore were fundamentally different from "parliamentarians" serving as bourgeois bureaucrats. Although the exploiting classes' political power had been smashed, the old system's foundation had yet to be cleared away and the exploiting classes' bureaucratic practices and vulgar philistinism were bound to infect the proletarian state organs like a pestilence. Bourgeois ideas like chasing after fame and gain and scrambling for power and position remained in existence among part of the members of the Soviets. All this inevitably led to the appearance of a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform them into "parliamentarians" or bureaucrats. Since the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique usurped leadership of the Party and state in the Soviet Union, such a phenomenon which had been sharply denounced by Lenin earlier has developed to a great extent in Soviet state organs, and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat founded by Lenin already has degenerated into a state under the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie.

**Question:** Why did Lenin say it was necessary to draw all members of the Soviets and all the poor into the practical work of administration to combat the above-mentioned tendency?

**Answer:** Drawing them into the practical work of administration is determined by the nature of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship exercised by the proletariat and other labouring people over a small number of exploiters. State power of this dictatorship belongs to the working class and the labouring people who, being masters of the state, are justified in taking part in the practical work of state administration. Lenin gave many expositions on this question. He pointed out: The dictatorship of the proletariat "is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below." (*The Dual Power*.) He added: "From the point of view of science and practical politics, one of the chief symptoms of every real revolution is the unusually rapid, sudden, and abrupt increase in the number of 'ordinary citizens' who begin to participate actively, independently and effectively in political life and

in the organization of the state." (*The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*.) "We can fight bureaucracy to the bitter end, to a complete victory, only when the whole population participates in the work of government." (*Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)*) Participation by the masses of the people in the practical administration of state power helps establish close ties between the state organs and the people and guards against the bureaucratization of state cadres. It also enables governments at various levels to give correct leadership and rely on the enthusiasm of the masses to effectively implement the principles and policies of the Party and state. This is an important guarantee for preventing the Party and state from changing political colour.

To draw the masses into state administration, Lenin also set forth that the departments of the Soviets (i.e., departments under the standing committees of the Soviets) should merge with the Commissariats (i.e., ministries under the Soviet Government) and that all measures taken to facilitate the masses' participation in state administration should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized and embodied in law. All this was an inheritance and development of the Paris Commune's experience and was of paramount importance in strengthening the building up of the proletarian state power.

Summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao also attaches great importance to the people's participation in state administration work. He has pointed out: "Having close ties with the masses is most fundamental in reforming state organs." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have, in line with Chairman Mao's teaching, created many good experiences and forms as to the people's participation in administration, such as the local revolutionary committees at various levels, participation by the working class in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure and management of schools and commerce by the poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China stipulates that the labouring people enjoy extensive democratic rights enabling them to fully supervise the state cadres. This is an effective measure to prevent degeneration of government personnel and state power.

**Question:** Why did Lenin stress that every toiler, after having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labour, shall perform state duties without pay?

**Answer:** This is to emphasize the important significance of direct participation by the labouring people in state administration work. In other words, every labourer must be given to understand that he is a master of the state and should play his role as such, and, apart from doing a good job in daily productive labour, he should concern himself with state affairs and regard state administration work as a bounden duty. Only when labourers consciously take part in this work can socialism be completely consolidated.



That "every toiler, after having finished his eight hours' task in productive labour, shall perform state duties without pay" represents a communist spirit. Warmly praising this revolutionary spirit of fighting for the communist cause regardless of pay, Lenin pointed out: "It is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits that accursed capitalism left as a heritage to the worker and peasant" (*A Great Beginning*.) Building socialism requires socialist new people, and egotistical philistines can never build socialism. When everyone performs state duties without pay after fulfilling his assigned "task," this marks an unprecedented enhancement of people's consciousness and the conquest of the ideas of private ownership and is of extremely great importance to consolidating and developing the socialist system. (See "Historical Tasks of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in our issue No. 11, 1975.)

We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift. Our Party, the Party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not in increasing its membership but in improving its quality, and in purging itself of "self-seekers." We have more than once carried out re-registration of Party members in order to get rid of these "self-seekers" and to leave in the Party only politically enlightened elements who are sincerely devoted to Communism. We have further taken advantage of the mobilizations for the front and of the subbotniks to purge the Party of those who are only "out for" the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of Communism.

V.I. Lenin: *The Workers' State and Party Week* (October 1919)

**Question:** What is the gist of this quotation?

**Answer:** The dictatorship of the proletariat is materialized through the leadership of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat. This dictatorship is one exercised by the masses under the Party's leadership. Class struggle in society is bound to find expression in the Party and the class enemies invariably try to use the tactic of sneaking into or sending their agents into and pulling some people out of the revolutionary ranks to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat by attacking the fortress from within. Therefore, to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, it is first of all necessary to continuously strengthen the building of the Party and consolidate the Party ranks, so as to make the Party a truly vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in fighting the class enemies. Precisely because of this, in the struggle to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin put great emphasis on continuing to strengthen Party build-

ing, improving the quality of the Party membership, purifying the Party organization and increasing the Party's fighting power. Studying this teaching of Lenin's naturally is of great practical significance in our struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**Question:** Why is "our Party," the Party of the revolutionary working class, "the only government party" in the world which is concerned not in increasing its membership but in improving its quality and in purging itself of "self-seekers"?

**Answer:** This is determined by the class character of the Party. All bourgeois political parties in the world are working in pursuit of the selfish interests of the capitalist class alone and reflect the ugly nature of the exploiting classes. They were revolutionary and full of vigour and vitality before they led the democratic revolution in winning ruling power and for a short period of time after winning this power, but before long they turned into their opposite and became reactionary in the course of their struggle against the proletariat and other labouring people. Thus bourgeois ruling parties are bound to head for corruption and degeneration and gradually become headquarters of careerists, reactionary politicians, bureaucratic lords and other social scum. The revolutionary proletarian political party has nothing in common with them. As the vanguard of the proletariat, it works entirely in the interests of the people and does not seek selfish interests at all. The historical mission of the proletariat is to thoroughly uproot class exploitation and bring about a classless communist society. Therefore, to a proletarian political party, winning ruling power and making itself the ruling party is not the end of the revolutionary tasks but the beginning of a new revolution. After the seizure of political power, a longer revolutionary journey and greater and more arduous tasks lie ahead. This requires the proletarian political party to further strengthen its fighting power and every Communist to seek not official posts but revolution and continue to maintain a style of work characterized by plain living and hard struggle. Precisely because of the position of the Party as the ruling party, not only do class enemies try by hook or by crook to worm their way into it for carrying out disruptive activities, but some opportunists and those who are only "out for" the benefits accruing to membership of a ruling party always try to sneak into it. It is, therefore, essential to pay great attention to the quality of Party membership and the purity of the Party organization.

In the course of founding the Russian Bolshevik Party, Lenin always set great store by the quality of Party membership and opposed various tendencies which stressed quantity to the neglect of quality. In the early days following the birth of the Party, Lenin trenchantly refuted the Menshevik opportunists' fallacies that every worker-striker could declare himself a Party member and that the more widespread the title of Party membership the better, which confused the proletarian vanguard with ordinary mass organizations. When the

Russian Communist Party became the ruling party after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin attached still greater importance to improving the quality of Party membership. In 1919, acting on the resolution adopted at the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P. (B.), Party organizations at various places held Party Week to admit into the Party the advanced elements who had emerged from revolutionary struggles and were sincerely devoted to the proletarian revolutionary cause. Meanwhile, re-registration of Party members was carried out in order to get rid of those who were not up to Party membership requirements and "self-seekers." The above-mentioned passage from Lenin was written at a time when he elaborated on this work.

Lenin said: "We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift." Why? The reason is very simple. This is because "we need new Party members not for advertising purposes but for serious work." (*The Workers' State and Party Week*.) By fictitious Party members is meant that they fall short of the requirements for admittance into the Party, so they cannot shoulder the fighting tasks of the proletariat and would even carry a great deal of non-proletarian ideas into the Party and spread the exploiting classes' style of work and practices in it. With the increase of such Party members, the Party would lose its character as the vanguard of the proletariat and gradually degenerate.

Inheriting and developing Marxist-Leninist thinking on Party building, Chairman Mao has set forth under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat that it is necessary to persist in "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh" and demanded that "the Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat." More recently, he again pointed out in his instruction on the question of theory that the bourgeoisie is also engendered among a part of the Party members. Therefore, every applicant for Party membership should have a correct motive and strive to act according to the requirements for Party members. Every Party member should consciously and unremittingly remould his world outlook, firmly resist erosion by the bourgeoisie and be a vanguard fighter continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**Question:** Why did Lenin stress the need to take advantage of the mobilizations for the front and of the subbotniks to purge the Party of those unqualified Party members?

**Answer:** This means building and consolidating the Party in the course of struggle. "Those who are only 'out for' the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of Communism" often cannot be easily tested in peaceful circumstances and in day-to-day work. Only serious struggles and harsh conditions provide a good trial for Party members. Some unqualified Party members who fail to stand up to the test of struggle and prove to be completely short of the requirements must be purged. Others with shortcomings can improve themselves through education in

the course of struggle. In this way, Party members will become "politically enlightened elements who are sincerely devoted to Communism" and the Party purer and more staunch than ever.

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**Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working class movement is not proletarian socialism, but bourgeois socialism. Practice has shown that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself.**

V.I. Lenin: *Report at the Second Congress of the Communist International* (July-August 1920)

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**Question:** Why is opportunism our principal enemy?

**Answer:** This refers mainly to the danger and seriousness of opportunism sabotaging the proletarian revolutionary cause. Opportunism is a bourgeois trend of thought in the workers' movement and an anti-Marxist one. Opportunist chieftains are bourgeois agents who sneak into the proletarian revolutionary ranks and opportunist factions are the bourgeoisie's political task force in the workers' movement. One of the sleights of hand the bourgeoisie uses to undermine the workers' movement is to spend a fraction of the enormous super-profits raked in through exploitation and plunder on buying over a few people in the upper ranks of the workers, grooming worker-aristocrats and fostering opportunists to work for its interests in the workers' movement. These opportunists who claim to represent the working class actually spare no effort to pursue a line catering to the needs of the bourgeoisie and try by every possible means to defend capitalism and oppose the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. They disseminate bourgeois ideas in the proletarian ranks, sap the proletariat's fighting will, undermine the solidarity and unity of the revolutionary ranks and do their utmost to break up the workers' movement. Paying lip service to building socialism, they actually go in for "bourgeois socialism," that is, capitalism under the signboard of socialism. A fortress is most vulnerable when attacked from within. Precisely because opportunists who disguise themselves as revolutionaries are somewhat deceptive and can play a role the bourgeoisie cannot, they are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the latter itself. This is especially so when the proletariat has seized political power, socialist revolution is daily deepening and the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes have become so notorious in society.

Under the conditions of widespread dissemination of Marxism in the workers' movement, opportunists invariably put on the cloak of Marxism to tamper with

(Continued on p. 28.)

Peking Review, No. 49

# ROUND THE WORLD

## ALBANIA

### New Successes in Revolution And Production

The Albanian people have achieved brilliant successes in socialist revolution and construction since the beginning of this year.

The Albanian Party of Labour this year has called on the people to earnestly study the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry on the revolutionization movement and combat bureaucracy. It stressed the need to strengthen Party leadership and supervision by the working class. All this has helped promote the ideological revolutionization of the cadres and masses and accelerate development of industry and agriculture.

This is the last year of the country's Fifth Five-Year Plan. In the past four years, remarkable headway has been made in agriculture as a result of the construction of large-scale water conservancy projects, soil improvement, reclamation of wasteland and raising the level of farm mechanization.

In this year's revolutionization movement and the anti-bureaucratism struggle, large numbers of cadres and agro-technical personnel have gone to the countryside to support agriculture. Actively responding to Comrade Enver Hoxha's call, young people have gone to settle in the countryside. According to statistics, over 4,000 young people went to work on farms this year on a long-term basis or temporarily.

Now, a mass movement to learn from, catch up with and even outstrip Kemishtaj, advanced agricultural co-operative, is in full swing throughout the country.

Grain output this year in many districts has gone up considerably. Compared with last year, the nation's wheat output rose by 11 per cent.

On the industrial front, a socialist emulation drive has been under way

for the title "shock worker of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and 1975."

A good number of industrial departments in the first 10 months have chalked up good results in production and many production plans have been overfulfilled.

On the eve of the 31st anniversary of Albania's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, Shkodra, Durrës, Saranda and other districts have fulfilled ahead of time the plan for total industrial output value as laid down in the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

## PORTUGAL

### Military Rebellion Crushed

Portuguese armed forces put down a military rebellion triggered on November 25 by the paratroop regiment at Tancos air base, 120 kilometres northeast of Lisbon.

The commanders of the regiment tried to overthrow the Azevedo government and their troops occupied air force high command headquarters in Lisbon and two other air bases near Lisbon. The Copcon military police regiment took part in the rebellion, occupying the radio and television stations in Lisbon and broadcasting rebel announcements.

The armed forces supporting the government quickly crushed the rebellion and brought the situation under control. They encircled all posts occupied by paratroops and military police regiments and forced them to surrender without big fighting. The last group of Tancos base paratroops surrendered on November 29.

The Portuguese Armed Forces General Staff announced in a communique on November 27 the resignation of Carlos Fabiao, Army Chief of Staff, and Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, Chief of Copcon. Colonel Ramalho Eanes, who took an active part in

suppressing the revolt, was appointed new army chief of staff and Copcon was disbanded.

Prior to the military revolt, the Azevedo government issued a communique denouncing "some responsible elements of the military" for not assuring "the government the necessary conditions to rule." President Francisco da Costa Gomes then stripped chief of the powerful Copcon de Carvalho of his post of Commander of the Lisbon Military Region and appointed Vasco Lourenço, an important member of the Azevedo government, to succeed him. The revolt broke out following some Copcon officers boycotting this decision.

General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party Mario Soares pointed out in a statement that the pro-Soviet forces should be held responsible for the military coup.

## FRETILIN

### Independence of East Timor Proclaimed

The Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN) proclaimed on November 28 the independence of the former Portuguese colony and the founding of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

FRETILIN is one of the three political parties in East Timor. After it put down an attempted coup by the Democratic Union of Timor in mid-August, it got actual control of East Timor.

East Timor occupies the eastern part of the island of Timor in southeastern Asia. The southern part of East Timor faces Australia across the Timor Sea. The people of East Timor have waged a protracted struggle for national independence and liberation. The Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor, which was set up in 1974, advocated immediate independence to realize as soon as possible the East Timor people's desire for liberation from colonial rule, establishment of a democratic, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist republic, land reform and development of the

national economy. In international relations, it stands for non-alignment, opposes establishment of any foreign military base on East Timor soil and supports all peoples struggling for progress. These ideas have won the support of the people of East Timor.

Reuter reported from Dili, the capital of East Timor, that the flag of Portugal was lowered in the city square at 5:55 p.m. on November 28 and a new flag representing an independent East Timor was raised.

The FRETILIN President Francisco de Amaral read the independence declaration. The people of Dili joyously celebrated their independence that evening.

Amaral was sworn in as President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on November 29. He said at the inauguration ceremony: "We have had to fight. We direct our appeal for peace to Indonesia but we will live by the slogan 'independence or death.'"

Earlier, a FRETILIN military commander on November 25 appealed to the leaders of all countries to intervene in Indonesia's armed invasion of East Timor.

A Reuter dispatch from Dili quoted the November 25 statement by the FRETILIN military commander and a deputy commander as saying that the East Timor border garrison town of Atabae had been under attack since November 14. Indonesian

infantry forces "tried to enter Atabae from two directions on the night of November 21 but were repulsed." On November 25, this town of strategic importance was shelled by 15 Indonesian warships. "Early today (November 25) correspondents in the area witnessed an air and naval bombardment on Atabae," Reuter said.

The FRETILIN military commander declared the same day that "the situation had reached crisis point when the bombardment intensified." "All FRETILIN forces in East Timor had been placed on alert," the commander said.

Another Reuter dispatch from Dili on November 27 said that the FRETILIN Border Command reported on the morning of November 27 that "three Indonesian ships bombarded the town for about one hour from five a.m." and "the bombardment was supported by an air attack."

According to an AFP report from Melbourne, two FRETILIN leaders said that Indonesian troops were preparing a full-scale invasion of East Timor.

#### LATIN AMERICA

### Surinam Independence

The Republic of Surinam proclaimed its independence on November 25, thereby bringing 300 years of Dutch colonial rule to an end.

Between the Co-operative Republic of Guyana and French Guiana, Surinam borders on Brazil to the south; to the north, it is on the Atlantic. Its territory is more than 140,000 square kilometres and the population is over 400,000.

The people of Surinam have carried on a protracted struggle for national independence. In 1863, they forced the colonial authorities to abolish the slave system. Their struggle for national independence has been growing daily since World War II. In 1954, the Dutch Government was compelled to grant Surinam autonomy in domestic affairs. After the present government came to power in 1973, there were a series of negotiations with the Dutch Government on the independence problem. It was declared last June that Surinam would become independent on November 25.

The government in recent years has enforced a series of measures to defend natural resources and develop the national economy. In 1974, it announced increased taxes on some foreign bauxite mining companies and the replacement of enterprises jointly run with foreign countries by those of independent management. In international affairs, Surinam has been actively developing friendly relations of co-operation with the third world countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and other regions.

(Continued from p. 26.)

or "revise" Marxism, distort its essence and emasculate its soul. Hence opportunism turns into revisionism. In the historical period of socialism, opportunists and revisionists, such as the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique abroad and Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and their kind in China, not only represent the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes but also the new emerging bourgeoisie. The rise to power of opportunism and revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie and this inevitably leads to capitalist restoration on a nationwide scale. Chairman Mao has led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in waging a prolonged struggle against oppor-

tunists and revisionists of all descriptions. Summing up the experience of ten major struggles between the two lines in the Chinese Communist Party, especially the experience of smashing the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao put forward three basic principles: "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." These three principles are of tremendous significance for us to increase our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism, wage a resolute struggle against opportunism and revisionism and carry the great cause of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

(To be continued.)



# Friendship Notes

## Brothers and Comrades-in-Arms

The Liaoning Song and Dance Troupe of China recently made a performance tour in Albania's Tirana, Shkodra, Durres, Korca, Elbasan and Tirana again. During their 20-odd-day tour, the performers, living in a homelike atmosphere, were deeply touched by the Albanian people's fraternity and comradeship.

Chinese and Albanian performers put on a joint performance in Tirana. There were items showing that they had learnt from one another in performing songs and dances of each other's country. On a visit to the Elbasan Metallurgical Complex, the troupe performed for the workers in front of a recently built furnace. Arriving at a construction site on their way to Korca, the members of the troupe got off the bus and joined the youngsters in their voluntary labour, wielding shovels and hammers to contribute their part in building a railway line in the hilly area there.

While they were in the old city of Shkodra, a 63-year-old agricultural co-op member walked more than 20 kilometres to watch them on stage.

He presented the Chinese performers with a bouquet of mountain flowers he had picked on the way, saying: "It's our custom here in the mountains to give the enemy bullets and friends flowers. Please take them!" The troupe leader took off his badge of Tien An Men and pinned it on the old man's chest. Pointing to his bosom, the excited old man said: "I'm keeping China and Mao Tsetung in my heart. Albania and China are brothers."

October 19 was a most memorable day. Comrade Enver Hoxha watched a performance by the troupe and received its leader and some members. He encouraged them to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and make greater contributions to the promotion of the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between Albania and China.

## Visiting Turkey

October brought to Asia Minor an intoxicating climate with gentle breezes and warm sunshine. It was in this fine season that the Chinese Wu Shu (traditional Chinese boxing and sword-play) Group had a very successful visit to Turkey.

Before the curtain went up when the group gave its Istanbul premiere, several thousand spectators burst into rounds of rhythmic clapping accompanied by chanting in unison: "Turkey — China! China — Turkey!" Thousands of ticket buyers in Bursa, the industrial hub, braved rain to queue up. The friendly feelings between Turkish audiences and Chinese guests brought their

hearts together despite the language barrier. Old men and women sitting in the first row held the hands of the Chinese *wu shu* performers, unwilling to let go. Youngsters besieged the guests with requests for badges and autographs. The Turkish press devoted much enthusiastic coverage to the visit.

While in Turkey, the group toured the famous Bosphorus Straits. A Turkish friend told the visitors that a certain country, out of its intention to dominate the world, had repeatedly made unreasonable demands on Turkey, which violated Turkish sovereignty over the Straits. It even attempted to occupy the straits. All its demands and attempts had been categorically rejected by the Turkish people. He pointed out: "The straits belong to Turkey and no attempt to occupy them is tolerated. Turkey belongs to the Turkish people!"

At the ancient Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, the Chinese visitors saw more than a thousand Chinese ceramics of the Tang, Yuan, Ming and Ching Dynasties on display. Deft Turkish craftsmen had decorated some of the porcelain teapots with gold and bronze tops and spouts in Turkish style and other porcelain articles with precious gems. Pointing to these exhibits, a Turkish friend said: "These porcelain articles testify that our two peoples have been kinsmen and our friendly exchanges began many centuries ago." Turkey was the terminal of the well-known silk road, and friendly Chinese missions had arrived there in ancient times. It was the imperialist and colonialist aggression that once cut the ties between the two countries.

Turkish friends many times told the Chinese group that the warm reception was not only for its superb performances but, more important, it also was a demonstration of the Turkish people's friendship for the Chinese people. "China is in the east of Asia. Turkey is in the west of Asia," one Turkish friend said. "We will build a friendly and anti-hegemonism bridge spanning the whole of Asia."

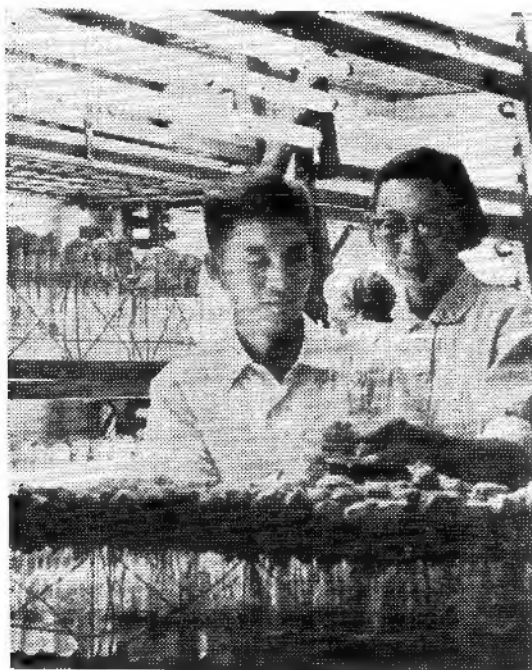


Chinese and Albanian performers singing the Albanian song "The Party — Motherland's Spring."

## ON THE HOME FRONT

### **New Rice Varieties Developed by Haploid Breeding Method**

**F**OLLOWING the successful breeding and cultivation of a new variety of tobacco by the haploid breeding method, China's scientists have used the same method to develop new varieties of rice. This is the first time the method has been applied successfully to a major grain crop in the world.



Researchers studying seedlings.

The haploid breeding method is a new technique evolved in the last few years. According to cytogenetics, cultivated plants usually are diploid ones, that is, their cells possess two sets of genetic material, or chromosomes, inherited from the parent plants. The cells from unisexual development without fertilization, however, have only one set of chromosomes. Such plants are haploid ones that can be doubled naturally or artificially and turned into homozygous diploid plants whose main characteristics are relatively stable without segregation. Sometimes they are better than their parent plants. This new method requires only three or four years instead of the

usual seven or eight to breed a new variety. Also it simplifies the breeding processes and at the same time raises the selection efficiency. In short, it is a new breeding method giving greater, faster, better and more economical results. A dozen other countries are now studying this new method of an exploratory nature, but none has used it in farm production.

Spurred on by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chinese scientists, in response to Chairman Mao's call, are determined to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced scientific and technical level. They have organized three-in-one groups composed of leading cadres, poor and lower-middle peasants and scientists and technicians and carried out socialist co-operation.

These new lines of rice have been tested over small areas in the past few years with good yields. High-yielding and resistant to diseases and lodging, they are better than the fine varieties already popularized in some localities and are welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants and agricultural departments.

China's scientific personnel have taken a big step forward in the research work on



A new strain of paddy developed by haploid breeding method.

haploid breeding which started in 1970. More than 200 units throughout the country are now engaged in this field. Apart from scientific research institutes, many areas have turned this work into a scientific experiment movement with mass participation. According to incomplete statistics, China has developed more than 20 new species of haploids; in the case of wheat and some others, for the first time in the world.

The important fresh successes in this breeding method have provided new experience in integrating the study of basic scientific theory more closely with production.

### **National Minority Performing Arts**

**T**HE 20-month-long national theatrical festival which ended last September featured a good number of plays, operas, songs and dances and *chuyi* (balladry, story-telling and cross-talk) depicting the life and struggles of the various minority nationalities. The presentations won warm acclaim from the Peking audiences. When the Tibet Song and Dance Ensemble gave its performances, it was not uncommon to see Tsaitan Chuoma, a famous vocalist, bring down the house with encores for her impressive and animated voice. The Uighur opera *The Red Lantern*, adapted from a modern revolutionary Peking opera of the same name, was made into a colour film not long after being presented at the festival. Many other items were televised and broadcast, including songs and dances, plays and Peking and local operas.

All this provides a glimpse of the flourishing performing arts among China's more than 50 minority nationalities, many of which are good at singing and dancing. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, many good stage productions with both socialist content and rich national flavour have emerged one after another.

Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, was the



A county spare-time art troupe in Tibet performing for commune members.

scene of a theatrical festival last August. A contingent of 800 professional and amateur art workers performed 200 items which were all new creations by the 13 nationalities in the region.

In Tibet, the emancipated serfs, together with other labouring people, have organized a song and dance ensemble, a Tibetan opera company, a modern-drama theatre and a cultural troupe, in addition to a great number of spare-time art groups. In Tutilung-tehching, a county to the northwest of Lhasa, there is a spare-time art group made up of emancipated serfs and their children. During its September-October performances in Peking, it deeply impressed the audiences with items composed and enacted by the members themselves.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching "Let a hundred flowers blossom; weed through the old to bring forth the new," literature and art workers of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region are doing their best to inherit their fine folk art traditions and create items portraying the new life of the people on the grasslands. Their efforts have been crowned with success in the dance *Militiawomen of the Grasslands*, which consists of a good deal of traditional dance movements incorporated with a wide range of refined dance vocabulary from real life and certain useful techniques from classical Chinese dances and European ballet. The dance brings out the heroism displayed by

a cavalry detachment of bright and brave militiawomen in doing military exercises and defending the frontier. It has now become one of the widely acclaimed items. Inner Mongolia's mobile cultural troupes, known as *ulanmuchi* in the Mongolian language, have won high praise for making the rounds of pastoral areas.

### Factories Equip Themselves

**I**N New China, equipment is being made not only by factories specially set up for it, but also by workers of other factories to meet their own needs. This is one of the important ways to solve the problem of equipment in developing industry through self-reliance.

According to preliminary statistics, from 1970 to May this year, more than 35,000 pieces of machinery equipment were manufactured through the efforts of the workers themselves at mining and industrial enterprises in Liaoning Province — one of China's major industrial bases. These include an electric shovel with a capacity of four cubic metres made by miners, an infrared heat setting machine by textile workers, an electro-magnetic disc by dockers for loading and unloading scrap iron and steel, an automated production line set up by workers in an aquatic product processing plant and a device for boring a tiny hole on a jewel

bearing made by workers in a watch factory.

Liaoning Province has a fairly good industrial basis. The major products from its machine-building industry which provides equipment for the whole nation are distributed by the state according to a unified plan. To meet the needs of replacing old equipment and adopting new techniques in production, workers of various trades and professions have begun to make the necessary equipment themselves.

The Shenyang Small Tractor Plant used to make 8-h.p. walking-tractors. In 1971, the factory decided to produce 12-h.p. ones to meet rural needs but this required new equipment and some special machine tools. Instead of waiting for the state to provide them with the equipment, workers there joined efforts with the cadres and technicians to form a three-in-one group and within a few years designed and built more than 260 pieces of equipment. With these machines which accounted for about two-thirds of the existing equipment, the plant switched to the production of 12-h.p. tractors according to schedule and increased its production capacity by 41 times as compared with 1965.

The port of Talien is handling more and more cargoes as China's foreign trade develops. The technical innovation group formed by workers of the No. 2 wharf designed the electro-magnetic disc. Through self-reliance, the workers built a set of equipment for it using old steel tubes to make the crane support. They have made 18 sets of this apparatus, including some for other docks.

Socialist New China has created favourable conditions for workers to study science and technology. At present major industrial cities as well as many industrial and mining enterprises in Liaoning Province are running spare-time technical schools attended by tens of thousands of workers. Some factories also run colleges. The students, selected from among workers with practical experience, return to production after a period of study.



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